

**PATRISTIC EVIDENCE
FOR
JEWISH-CHRISTIAN SECTS**

SUPPLEMENTS TO NOVUM TESTAMENTUM

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PATRISTIC EVIDENCE FOR JEWISH-CHRISTIAN SECTS

BY

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INTRODUCTION

We have compiled this collection of passages from early Christian literature regarding Jewish-Christian sects in the hope that scholars interested in the origin and development of Jewish Christianity in the first centuries of our era may find it useful in their studies.

Many books have recently been written on this subject.¹ The authors of these works deal with the definition, origin, significance and development of Jewish Christianity. This is necessary because Jewish Christianity is to be considered not only as one of the early Christian heresies but also as in itself a form of early Christianity.

Nevertheless, early Christian authors speak of Jewish Christianity merely as a heretical movement, although some representatives of these heresies were already supposed to have been present in the Apostolic Church. They divide Jewish Christianity into five different groups, each with its own characteristics: the Cerinthians, Ebionites, Nazoraeans, Symmachians and Elkesaites. It was sometimes admitted that Christians like Theodotos and Paul of Samosata, who were accused of rejecting the Virgin Birth, expressed Jewish-Christian ideas, but they were never reckoned to be Jewish Christians in the strict sense of the word.

Within the limits of this study it is impossible for us to draw a general outline of Jewish Christianity. This would only be possible after an investigation of those writings which show the influence of Jewish Christianity, or were written by Jewish Christians themselves. The authors, however, assume that even this limited study will be an important contribution towards further research. It has often happened, in writings on this subject, that passages

¹ See H.-J. Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums*, Tübingen 1949; J. Munck, *Paulus und die Heilsgeschichte*, København 1954; J. Daniélou, *Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme*, Desclée 1958; G. Strecker, *Das Judenchristentum der Pseudoklementinen*, Berlin 1958; J. Munck, *Jewish Christianity in Post-Apostolic Times*, in: *New Testament Studies* 6 1960, p. 103-166; *Aspects du Judéo-Christianisme*. Colloque de Strassbourg 23-25 Avril 1964, Paris 1965; B. Bagatti, *L'Eglise de la Circoncision*, Jérusalem 1965, S. Pines, *The Jewish Christians of the Early Centuries of Christianity according to a new Source*, Jerusalem 1966; R. N. Longenecker, *The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity*, in: *Stud. in Bibl. Theology*, sec. Series 17, London 1970.

taken from early Christian authors have been quoted without a careful examination of their mutual dependency and historical veracity. For this reason an examination of the connection between the various testimonies was undoubtedly necessary.

This study of testimonies provides the opportunity of forming some conclusions about the history of Jewish Christianity which, although necessarily provisional, may be of use to those engaged in the study of this subject.

The first part of this book offers a critical evaluation of the testimonies. The second part gives these testimonies in their original language and in an English translation.

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PART ONE

CERINTHIANS

Irenaeus

In *adv. Haer.* I 26 Irenaeus writes that Cerinthus taught in Asia Minor and proclaimed that the world was created not by the "supreme God" but by a Power separated from the First Principle. Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary but surpassed all men in *justitia*, *prudencia* and *sapientia*. Christ descended upon Jesus in the form of a dove, after his baptism. He preached the "unknown God". Before his passion and death Christ left Jesus. Jesus rose from the dead.

Irenaeus numbers Cerinthus among those heretics who said that the world was not created by God, but by angels or a Demiurge. To this extent he agreed with the Valentinians,¹ Menander,² Saturninus,³ Basilides,⁴ Carpocrates,⁵ Marcion⁶ and those heretics called Gnostics.⁷

In Irenaeus' description of the Valentinians we find that they believed that the "Saviour" descended upon Christ in the form of a dove⁸ and that Carpocrates agreed with Cerinthus in asserting that Jesus excelled all men.⁹

Irenaeus remarks that John wrote specifically against Cerinthus and other heretics who denied that God created the world.¹⁰ Those who distinguish between Jesus and Christ, to which group Cerinthus undoubtedly belonged, quoted the Gospel of Mark, but they too were refuted by the Gospel of John.¹¹

¹ I 5 2.

² I 23 5.

³ I 24 1.

⁴ I 24 4.

⁵ I 25 1.

⁶ III 11 2.

⁷ III 11 2.

⁸ I 7 2 and III 11 3.

⁹ I 25 1.

¹⁰ III 11 1. A. Hilgenfeld, *Die Ketzergeschichte des Urchristentums*, Leipzig 1884, p. 412, supposed that Irenaeus wrote particularly about the Cerinthians in this passage. This is an error since the passage deals specifically with the Nicolaites.

¹¹ III 11 7, cf. G. Bardy, *Cérinthus*, in: *Revue Bibl.* 30 1921, p. 344-373, p. 350, n. 1.: "Il me paraît difficile d'attribuer une valeur historique à cette information".

We cannot say that Cerinthus' doctrine as described by Irenaeus differs from that of the well known Gnostics. We may suggest that he did not know anything more about Cerinthus than the tradition, traced to Polycarp of Smyrna, according to which John the Apostle met Cerinthus in the bath-house at Ephesus and there pointed him out as the "enemy of the truth" (III 3 4). Since John was considered to be the chief opponent of Gnosticism in Asia Minor it is obvious that anyone whom he described as an "enemy of the truth" was thereby denounced as a notorious Gnostic.

Hippolytus

The passages about Cerinthus in *Refut.* VII 33 and X 21 show a dependency on Irenaeus. The few deviations are of minor importance. Hippolytus does not say that Cerinthus preached in Asia Minor. According to him Cerinthus was instructed in the doctrine of the Egyptians (VII 7 1). It is possible that Hippolytus derived this notion from the fact that Basilides and Valentinus, who had close affinities with Cerinthus, are also supposed to have come from Egypt.¹ In X 21 Hippolytus does not say that Jesus rose from the dead. Finally, he says that the world was created by an angel, differing in this matter from Irenaeus who speaks about a "Power". We presume that these deviations may be explained by his attempt to bring Cerinthus' ideas into closer agreement with those of the Gnostics.

This means that Hippolytus used no other source than Irenaeus, but this assertion applies only to his *Refutation*. Dionysius bar-Salibi stated that, according to Hippolytus, a man called Caius appeared saying that the Gospel and the Apocalypse of John had been written by Cerinthus. He added that Hippolytus demonstrated that this was not true, since the doctrine of Cerinthus differed from that contained in the Johannine Books. According to Dionysius, who seems to quote Hippolytus, Cerinthus taught circumcision; Cerinthus said in his letters that the Apostle Paul and his disciples were deceitful; he asserted that the world was created by angels and that the Lord was not born

¹ Cf. VII 27 13 and VI 21 3. See C. Schmidt - I. Wajnberg, *Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung*, in: *Texte und Unters.*, XLIII, Leipzig 1919, p. 408: "Diese Notiz atmet ganz den Geist des Hippolyt, der in seiner Schrift den Nachweis führen will, dass die Häupter der gnostischen Häresie ihre Lehren der hellenistischen Philosophie entnommen haben. Dabei spielt auch die Weisheit der Ägypter eine grosse Rolle. See also Bardy, o.c., p. 351.

of a virgin. Finally Cerinthus should have given instructions about "carnal food and drink".¹

From a late source we know that Hippolytus actually wrote a book "against Caius".² This man Caius lived in Rome during the time of bishop Zephyrinus. It was then that Caius distributed a Dialogue in which he opposed the Montanist Proclus. This work was known to Eusebius.³ Apparently it is from this work written by Caius that Eusebius is quoting when he says: "But Cerinthus also, by means of revelations, said to be written by a great apostle, brings before us miraculous things in a deceitful way, saying they were revealed to him by angels. And he says that after the resurrection the kingdom of Christ will be set up on earth, and that in Jerusalem the body will again serve as the instrument of desires and pleasures. And since he is an enemy of the divine Scriptures and sets out to deceive, he says that there will be a marriage feast lasting a thousand years".⁴

This passage does not explicitly state that Caius ascribed the *Apocalypse* of John to Cerinthus. He only speaks of apocalypses that were written by "a great Apostle". But his references to the contents of this work make it almost certain that he is referring to the canonical *Apocalypse*.⁵ This means that Hippolytus really knew that Caius supposed the *Apocalypse* to have been written by Cerinthus. We can explain this as an attempt made by the orthodox Caius to rob the Montanists, and particularly the Montanist Proclus, of any opportunity of adducing arguments in support of their ideas.

However, we do not think that it was really Cerinthus' ideas that caused him to be considered a Millenarian. The real reason was that Cerinthus was traditionally believed to be the main agitator in Asia Minor, and therefore any deviation from orthodox doctrine in that region, even Millenarianism, could be ascribed to him. In addition to this, it was known that Irenaeus had said that John called Cerinthus an "enemy of the truth". This outburst could have been interpreted in the sense that John complained that Cerinthus' writings had appeared

¹ Dionysius Bar-Salibi, in *Apocalysim, Actus et Epistulas Catholicas*, interpret. est I. Sedlaček, in: *Corp. Script. Christ. Orient.* Ser. sec., Tomus CI, Romae 1910, p. 1-2.

² According to Ebedjesu, see J. Quasten, *Patrology* II, Utrecht-Antwerp 1953, p. 197.

³ Eusebius, *hist. eccl.* II 25 6 and VI 20 3, cf. Jerome, *de vir. ill.* LIX.

⁴ III 28 2.

⁵ Cf. Bardy, *o.c.*, p. 356, n. 3: "Mais il est encore possible, que, dans le passage rapporté par Eusèbe, Caius parle simplement dans son hypothèse que l'Apocalypse est l'œuvre de Cérinthe".

under his name. This supposition might be corroborated by Caius who, paraphrasing Irenaeus' remark, spoke of Cerinthus as the "enemy of the divine Scriptures".

We may conclude that Dionysius can be trusted when he says that Caius ascribed the Johannine Books to Cerinthus. It is also conceivable that Hippolytus pointed out that Cerinthus differed in his opinions from John and therefore could not have been the author of the *Apocalypse*. However, we cannot agree that Hippolytus rendered the ideas of Cerinthus in the same way as we find them expressed by Dionysius, for these differ too much from the account in his *Refutation*, for which he appears to be dependent on Irenaeus. In particular, it is impossible to explain why Hippolytus accused Cerinthus of having taught circumcision and having rejected Paul. These are ideas concerning Cerinthus which cannot be found earlier than in Epiphanius. It is especially strange to read that Cerinthus "taught about carnal food and drink". This is supposed to be a typically Millenarian notion. Hippolytus must have been trying to show that Cerinthus could not have been the author of the *Apocalypse* because of his different ideas. In this context we cannot expect him to point out that Cerinthus was a Millenarian!

For this reason we suppose that Dionysius is writing about Cerinthus' doctrine in his own words. It is impossible to say whether he really knew exactly what Hippolytus said about Cerinthus. If he did, he obviously corrected it, in line with later views about him.

For this reason we shall deal with Dionysius' observations on the ideas of Cerinthus when we come to speak of Dionysius bar-Salibi.

Pseudo-Tertullian

Ps.-Tertullian, *adv. omn. haer.* 3, speaks of Cerinthus after dealing with Carpocrates. In this he agrees with Irenaeus and Hippolytus. He writes that Cerinthus taught a doctrine similar to that of Carpocrates. The world was created by angels and Jesus was the son of Joseph. These are exactly the same notions we find in Irenaeus when he speaks of Carpocrates.¹

Ps.-Tertullian differs from earlier informants in saying that, according to Cerinthus the Law was given by angels. In this assertion Cerinthus is in agreement with Basilides and Saturninus.² We point out

¹ I 25 1.

² I 24 2 and I 24 4.

that Ps.-Tertullian does not identify the angels responsible for the Law with the angels who created the world.

We do not believe that Ps.-Tertullian, or the source he used, possessed any more information about Cerinthus than his predecessors had had. He merely ascribed some ideas to Cerinthus which were supposedly held by Gnostics, mentioned by Irenaeus. We presume that Ps.-Tertullian gathered his information from different sources, which would explain, in particular, the fact that he does not mention any connection between the God of the Jews, who he says is an angel, and (one of) the angels who created the world.

It is unnecessary to add that his mentioning the God of the Jews does not mean that Ps.-Tertullian is trying to prove that Cerinthus had Jewish sympathies or even that he can be called a Jewish Christian. On the contrary, it is quite obvious that Pseudo-Tertullian, even more than Irenaeus, describes Cerinthus as a Gnostic, ascribing to him Gnostic notions derived from Irenaeus' description of well known Gnostic leaders.

Eusebius

The passage in Eusebius (*hist. eccl.* III 28) can be divided into four parts: an introduction, a quotation from Caius, a passage about Dionysius and another passage from Irenaeus.

After having dealt with the Ebionites whom he places in Apostolic times (III 27 1), he observes that it was about this time that Cerinthus appeared. He was called the leader of a sect. We do not think that Eusebius wishes to establish anything more than a chronological link between the two groups. His point is that both heresies arose in a very early period of the Church.

The passage about Caius has been noted in connection with Hippolytus. Eusebius says that, according to Cerinthus, Caius supposed apocalypses to have been written by "a great apostle".

The second part deals with Dionysius, a contemporary of Eusebius. He said that Cerinthus, according to ancient traditions, looked forward to an earthly kingdom. This does not mean that Dionysius was referring to an unknown tradition according to which Cerinthus was a Millenarian. Elsewhere Eusebius states that Dionysius joined issue with a Millenarian called Nepos.¹ In his refutation he refers to some of his predecessors who rejected both the Gospel of John and the *Apocalypse*,

¹ VII 24 1.

for which writings they held Cerinthus responsible.¹ In this passage the name of Caius is not mentioned but we may accept that Dionysius remembered his anti-Montanist predecessor Caius who had said that Cerinthus was responsible for the *Apocalypse*.² This means that all the information about Cerinthus being a Millenarian can be traced to one source: Caius. This tradition seems to have been persistent if we remember that Hippolytus obviously tried to stifle this rumour.³

Finally, we find the well-known story, found in Irenaeus, about the encounter between John and Cerinthus in Ephesus (see also IV 14 6).

This means that Eusebius depended on Caius, Dionysius and Irenaeus for his information about Cerinthus, who became known more and more widely as a Millenarian,⁴ especially because of the passage in Eusebius.

Epiphanius

Epiphanius was the first to mention the name Cerinthian. Before him only the name Cerinthus is met with, although Eusebius, following Dionysius, mentions Cerinthus as being the leader of a sect.⁵

At first Epiphanius appears to be dependent for his information on Ps.-Tertullian. Like him he asserts that Cerinthus is in agreement with Carpocrates in saying that Christ is the son of Joseph and Mary and that the world was created by angels.

Epiphanius, however continues saying that Cerinthus partially held to Judaism, since Cerinthus said that the Law and the prophets have been given by angels and that the one who gave the Law is one of the angels who made the world (28 1 3).

¹ VII 25 2-3.

² Harnack, *Gesch. der altchristl. Literatur* I 2, p. 601: "aus Euseb. h.e. III, 28, 4, VII, 25, 1 sq. darf man vielleicht schliessen, dass Dionysius von Alex. den Dialog des Cajus gekannt hat". See also C. L. Feltoe, *St. Dionysius of Alexandria*, London - New York 1918, p. 84.

³ According to Dionysius bar-Salibi, see p. 5.

⁴ See also Gennadius Massiliensis, *de eccl. dogm.* XXV (LV) and Nicephorus Callistus, *hist. eccl.* III 14 and VI, who depend on Eusebius. The same applies to *Chronicon Ps.-Dionysianum vulgo Dictum* I, interpr. J.-B. Chabot, in: *C.S.C.O.* 121, Lovanii 1949, and 91, Louvain 1953. Victorinus Poetovionensis, *comm. in Apoc.* XXI 3, seems to be the earliest writer dependent on Caius, but since we are dealing with the *versio Hieronymi* the passage may show Jerome's words.

⁵ III 28 1.

Although Epiphanius undoubtedly depends on Ps.-Tertullian, he introduces some alterations in his observations. Unlike Ps.-Tertullian, who only speaks of the Law, Epiphanius states that both the Law and the Prophets were given by angels. Next he identifies one of the angels who gave the Law with the creator of the world, in place of speaking about two different groups of angels.

This passage is meant to say that Cerinthus, according to Epiphanius, favoured Judaism. We notice, however that the way in which Epiphanius corrected Ps.-Tertullian resulted, according to Irenaeus, in Basilides' doctrine which is only meant to be anti-Judaic!¹ It is, however, not only from the rewritten tradition of Ps.-Tertullian that Epiphanius drew the conclusion that Cerinthus lived according to the Law. Before he deals with that part of Cerinthus' teaching, he first quotes some remarks from Irenaeus (28 1 4-7). He follows Irenaeus in saying that Cerinthus lived in Asia and that the origin of his heresy is to be found in that region. According to Cerinthus, the supreme Power did not create the world, and Christ descended upon Jesus in the form of a dove. The identification of this dove with the Holy Spirit is a conclusion drawn by Epiphanius from the New Testament (Mark 1, 10 and parallel passages).

Cerinthus' Jewish tenets are, however, illustrated by three examples taken from the New Testament. Epiphanius writes that Cerinthus caused confusion in the Church of Antioch by saying that Gentile Christians should be circumcised (28 2 3, cf. Acts 14, 24). In this he differed from Peter, who did not circumcise Cornelius (28 2 4, cf. Acts 11,2). He says he set the Jews against Paul when he appeared in Jerusalem (28 4 1, cf. Acts 21, 28).

Epiphanius was quite justified in wondering how anyone who accepted the idea that the Law had been given by angels could live according to the Law (28 2 1). He solved this difficulty by suggesting that Cerinthus propagated his ideas about the Law before he proclaimed his own doctrine in Asia (28 2 6).² But how can we explain why Epiphanius felt himself obliged to describe Cerinthus primarily as a

¹ I 24 4-5, although Basilides identified the leader of the angels who created the world with the God of the Jews.

² Cf. Schmidt-Wajenberg, *o.c.*, p. 411: "Danach hätte sich der Galiläer und Judaist Kerinth infolge seiner Übersiedelung nach Kleinasien in einen doketischen Gnostiker verwandelt ...".

Judaist and an opponent of Paul, who later on developed into a gnostic with his own doctrine in Asia?

If we bear in mind that Epiphanius took his testimonies from the New Testament we may be sure that he did not know any details about Cerinthus' early preaching. He obviously knew little more than rumours about disagreements between Cerinthus and Paul. It is possible that all this may be explained by a tradition found in the *Epistola Apostolorum* written in the beginning of the second century. In this letter we find a warning against the "pseudo-apostles", Simon and Cerinthus, who, it is said, will "go out into the world".¹ Apparently it was on the basis of this tradition that Epiphanius spoke about Cerinthus as a "pseudo-apostle" (28 4 1). It was only a small step from this to identifying this pseudo-apostle with the pseudo-apostles we find in II Cor. 11, 13, described as Paul's opponents in Corinth (28 4 6).

Basing this theory on two different traditions, Epiphanius suggested that Cerinthus began his preaching as a Judaist and at a later date developed his doctrine in Asia Minor (cf. 28 1 4, 28 2 6 and 28 8 2).

After these more general observations we shall now consider the general content of Cerinthus' preaching. In 28 5 1 Epiphanius writes that the Cerinthians used the Gospel of Matthew in part, and including the genealogy. This seems remarkably detailed information which requires further investigation.

Epiphanius speaks several times about the Gospel of the Cerinthians. In 30 3 7 he writes that the Ebionites used the Gospel of Matthew, and he adds that the Cerinthians used the same Gospel. But, according to Epiphanius, the Ebionites gave their Gospel the name of "Gospel according to the Hebrews". In 30 14 2 he writes that Cerinthus and Carpocrates used the same Gospel as the Ebionites. Moreover he tells his readers that the Cerinthians kept the genealogy because it proved that Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary. The Ebionites, however, omitted it for the same reason.²

Epiphanius evidently wishes to make it clear that the Cerinthians, the Ebionites and Carpocrates used the same Gospel, the Gospel of Matthew. Cerinthus and Carpocrates retained the genealogy and the Ebionites eliminated it.

¹ *Epist. Apost.*, ed. Duensing, 1. (12.) and 7. (18.).

² Epiphanius, however, is convinced that both Cerinthians and Ebionites were refuted by Matthew concerning their conceptions about the birth of Jesus, see 51 5 6.

It is easy to understand why Epiphanius made a point of this omission of the genealogy in the Gospel of the Ebionites, since he was acquainted with a Gospel which he supposed to be that used by the Ebionites and which did not contain the genealogy (30 13 1 and 6). But the notion that this Gospel is the same as that used by Cerinthus and Carpocrates derives from a passage in Irenaeus, who writes that the Ebionites have the same ideas as Cerinthus and Carpocrates and continues with the remark: "They use only the Gospel of Matthew".¹ Epiphanius supposed that Irenaeus was in this passage still speaking about the Ebionites, Cerinthus and Carpocrates. He knew that the Gospel which he ascribed to the Ebionites did not contain a genealogy, and he also knew that according to Cerinthus Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary. Putting two and two together he concluded by assuming that the genealogy was contained in the Gospel used by Cerinthus.²

It is clear that Epiphanius believed that Cerinthus, being the "opponent of Paul", rejected this Apostle (28 5 3).

However, some of his observations about Cerinthus are more difficult to explain. He writes that Cerinthus believed that Christ was crucified, but rejected belief in the resurrection (28 6 1). He taught that Christ's resurrection would occur at the time of the general resurrection of the dead. Epiphanius refutes this notion with the help of 1 Cor. 15.

Irenaeus wrote that, according to Cerinthus, Christ left Jesus before the Passion, and Jesus rose from the dead.³ From this Epiphanius may have concluded that Christ would finally return. This idea would be all the more plausible if Epiphanius bore in mind Cerinthus' supposed Millenarian ideas.

This explanation is not quite convincing. In the first place, Epiphanius does not distinguish between Christ and Jesus in his account of Cerinthus' doctrine. He even speaks of "Christ who suffered and was crucified" (28 6 1). Secondly, in this chapter he does not speak about Cerinthus' Millenarian ideas. In speaking about the *Alogi*, however, Epiphanius says that they accepted Cerinthus as the author of John's Gospel, a theory which Epiphanius rejects because he believes that the Johannine Books and the Apocalypse were written

¹ I 26 2

² See Zahn, *Gesch. des neutestamentl. Kanons* II II, Erlangen-Leipzig 1892, p. 730, n. 1.

³ I 26 1.

against Cerinthus (51 3 6, cf. 51 4 1 et seqq. and Filaster, *div. her. lib.* LX).

Furthermore, Epiphanius writes that Cerinthus had many followers in Galatia. From this region is supposed to come the tradition that some Cerinthians had themselves baptised vicariously for the dead. Once more Cerinthus is refuted by a reference to I Cor. 15.

It is possible that Epiphanius had heard rumours about this type of baptism in Asia Minor, but we wonder whether it really was a practice traditionally associated with Cerinthians. It may be that this baptism was common among Montanists in Asia Minor.¹ Since Cerinthus was supposed to be the archheretic of Asia Minor it was customary to ascribe to him any abuse known to exist in that region.²

Finally Epiphanius says that some people speak about Merinthians instead of Cerinthians (28 8 1). He does not know how to explain these two names. He supposes that Cerinthus was also known under the name Merinthus, or that a co-worker existed with this name. He seems to have taken this last possibility seriously because in 51 7 3 he writes that the Gospel of Luke also was written against Cerinthus and Merinthus. In other passages too he mentions the two names separately.³ We might hazard the suggestion that in some testimonies about Cerinthus the first letter of his name was spelt incorrectly.⁴

This all goes to show that Epiphanius tries to reconcile traditions about Cerinthus found in Pseudo-Tertullian and Irenaeus with others about Cerinthus the heretic known in Apostolic times. His work as a very early heretic is described with the help of extracts from the New Testament. It is not clear how Epiphanius came to know about Cerinthus' peculiar ideas about Christ's resurrection and baptism. It may be that these are ideas prevalent in Asia Minor which were ascribed to Cerinthus.

¹ According to Filaster, *div. her. lib.* XL.

² Bardy, o.c., p. 364, suggests that Epiphanius heard about this baptism in connection with the Marcionites in Asia Minor. See for this practice: M. Rissi, *Die Taufe für die Toten*, in: *Abhand. z. Theol. des A.u.N.T.* 42, Zürich 1962. Since, however, Epiphanius continually refers to I Cor. 15 speaking about Cerinthus' ideas on the resurrection and baptism we might suggest that it is from the contents of this chapter only that he arrived at the notion of these so-called Cerinthian characteristics.

³ He speaks about Cerinthus and Merinthus also in 31 2 1 and about Cerinthians and Merinthians in *Ancoratus* 13,3 and *Panarion* 69 23 1.

⁴ See Bardy, o.c., p. 363.

*Anacephalaiosis*¹

In this source the dependency on Epiphanius is evident in the observation that the name Merinthus is found alongside the name Cerinthus. We find here both the Gnostic element (the world was created by angels) and the Jewish element (circumcision). It is not impossible that remarks about Cerinthus' Christology, according to which Jesus became Christ "progressively", were taken from passages about the Ebionites².

We may conclude that the *Anacephalaiosis* attempted to describe the Cerinthians as Jewish Christians.³

Jerome

In *adv. Luc. 23* Jerome mentions a number of heretics in this order: Saturnilus, the Ophites, the Cainites, the Sethians, Carpocrates, Cerinthus and his *successor* Ebion. This order and the way in which Cerinthus and Ebion are shown in relation to each other show a dependence on Pseudo-Tertullian.

There are three other passages in which Jerome speaks about Cerinthus. In *epist. CVII 13* he observes that Cerinthus was cursed by the Fathers because he connected the Law with the Gospel. From the *Prefatio* to Matthew we learn that Cerinthus and Ebion are considered to be heretics denying that "Christ came in the flesh", an idea which, according to Jerome, was refuted by John the Evangelist. In *de vir. ill. IX* we once more read that John wrote against Cerinthus. He remarks that he acted at the request of the bishops of Asia. Jerome goes on to say that John also wrote against the doctrine of the Ebionites which stated that Christ had not existed before Mary.⁴ Otherwise it appears

¹ The *Anacephalaiosis* is considered to be a later addition to Epiphanius' work, see Bardenheuer, *Gesch. der altchr. Lit.* III, p. 299. This was made before the year 428 since it was used by Augustine, *adv. haer.*

² See Epiphanius 30 18 5 and Eusebius III 27 2.

³ Depending on the *Anacephalaiosis* are: John Damascene, *de haer.* 8, and Theodor bar-Khonai. In his second remark on Cerinthus Theodor also used Eusebius. His idea that Cerinthus was a Jew from Corinth is interesting and might have been concluded from Epiphanius' remarks on Cerinthus being Paul's opponent in that city.

⁴ The idea that John wrote against Cerinthus can already be found in Irenaeus III 11 1. In *Canon Muratori* it is said that John wrote his Gospel at the request of the other disciples and bishops. Victorinus Poetovionensis, *comm. in Apoc. XXI 3* combines these two statements saying that John wrote against Valentinus, Cerinthus and Ebion because "all bishops" forced him to draw up a testimony. Since this is found in the

that Jerome was not acquainted with any specifically Cerinthian belief. He is described, together with Ebion, as a Jewish Christian who denied that Jesus had come in the flesh. This means that Jerome did not know anything more about Cerinthus than that he was Ebion's predecessor. For Jerome this was sufficient reason to describe him as holding the Ebionite doctrine.

Filaster

Filaster agrees with Pseudo-Tertullian when he describes Cerinthus as being closely akin to Carpocrates in their conceptions of the birth of Jesus and the creation of the world by angels. However, since he follows Epiphanius in the order in which he makes these observations, we can see that he is dependent on this source. This is proved also by the fact that he asserts that Cerinthus gave "partial" assent to the Law. This may be compared with Epiphanius' assertion that Cerinthus adhered to Judaism "partially". Filaster offers further proof by saying that according to Cerinthus the Law was given by God.

Filaster suggests that there is no connection between the angels who created the world and God who gave the Law. This is the logical conclusion of a development which started with Pseudo-Tertullian. He speaks about angels who created the world and other angels who gave the Law. Epiphanius states that, according to Cerinthus, the world was created by one of the angels who gave the Law. For this reason he wondered why Cerinthus attached so much significance to the Law. This difficulty was removed by Filaster stating that Cerinthus believed it was God who gave the Law. Although this meant that the creators of the world had no connection with the Giver of the Law,

versio Hieronymi the passage may be of Jerome's hand. Jerome himself writes that John was asked by the bishops of Asia. It seems that the sentence about Jesus and Mary applies to the Ebionites only, but it was supposed to be a Cerinthian doctrine also at a later date, see Hilarius Arelatensis and Pseudo-Augustine. The tradition can also be found in Jerome, in *Matth.*, *praef.* and *epist.* 69 2 3. The Monarchian Prologues are obviously dependent on Jerome, *de vir. ill.* IX, but they add that all this happened after the death of Domitian and John's return from exile. From the Monarchian Prologues seem to be dependent Primasius and Pseudo-Augustine. All later writers like Rupertus Tuitiensis, *Commentaria in Evangelium Sancti Johannis*, ed. R. Hacke, in: *Corp. Christ.*, Contin. Mediaev. IX, Turnholti 1969, from the year 1115 are dependent on Jerome, *praef. in Matth.* and *de vir. ill.* IX, see I 1 1, I 1 14, II 2 12, IV 3 33, IV 3 34, VI 6 47, VIII 8 31-32, X 11 26b-27, XI 13 2-5, XI 13 23, XI 14 9, XI 15 4, XII 16 28.

nevertheless it gave him an opportunity to explain why the Cerinthians were supposed to obey the Law, albeit only "partially".

Filaster writes that Cerinthus taught circumcision and kept the Sabbath. He agrees with Epiphanius in saying that, according to Cerinthus, Christ did not rise from the dead but will be raised at the general resurrection, and that Paul is rejected. He borrows from Epiphanius also the remark that Cerinthus raised the question about whether Christians should be circumcised.

Three remarks cannot be traced to Epiphanius. In the first place he says that Cerinthus should honour Judas; in the second place he says that Cerinthus accepts the Gospel of Matthew but rejects the other three, together with the Acts. Finally, he says that Cerinthus blasphemes the holy martyrs.

The remarks about Judas and the martyrs¹ express ideas known to be held by the Gnostics. If Filaster is depending on some other source when he speaks of Cerinthus, this must have been an earlier one dating from a time when Cerinthus was still supposed to hold Gnostic beliefs.² The remarks about the Gospels and the Acts may have been made under the influence of Epiphanius, who wrote that Cerinthus used the Gospel of Matthew and that in the Acts one can find mention of Cerinthus' opposition to Paul.

Pseudo-Hieronymus

Bardy demonstrated that Pseudo-Hieronymus depends on Pseudo-Tertullian and was used as a source by Augustine in his *de haer.* For this reason the work was dated in the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century.³ Pseudo-Hieronymus, *indic. de haer.* X, did not influence Augustine but the author obviously used the information given by Pseudo-Tertullian. Here it is said that Cerinthus taught

¹ Schmidt- Wajnberg, *o.c.*, p. 419, suggests that by the "holy martyrs" are meant the apostles Peter and Paul, but this is unacceptable.

² The veneration of Judas can be found among the Cainites, see Irenaeus I 31 1, Pseudo-Tertullian 7, Filaster II and Epiphanius 38 7 6. Basilides, see Irenaeus I 24 4, Origen, in *Math.* XXV, *comm. Ser.* 38 and Marcion, see Tertullian, *de fuga in pers.* 9, are said to blaspheme the martyrs. The supposition about Cerinthus' blaspheming the martyrs may have arisen from a passage in Epiphanius 28 6 2, where it is said that I Cor. 15, 32 was directed against Cerinthus.

³ See G. Bardy, *L'"Indiculus de Haeresibus" du Pseudo-Jérôme*, in: *Rech. de Science Religieuse* 19 1929, p. 385-405.

similar things as Caropcrates and that Ebion succeeded Cerinthus. This explains the first sentence in Pseudo-Hieronymus. The idea that it is sufficient for a follower of Jesus to be like his master or doctor can be compared with Pseudo-Tertullian, though the last author alludes to Matthew 10,24 and Pseudo-Hieronymus to Matthew 10,25.

Pseudo-Hieronymus cannot be explained by Pseudo-Tertullian only. Apart from this source he also appears to depend on Filaster. From him he concluded that Cerinthus was a Jewish-Christian. The same author is responsible for the remark on the custom of circumcision and the observation of the sabbath. The idea that Christ possessed a prophetic spirit can be explained by Filaster saying that Christ is like all prophets (XXXVII).

It is peculiar that Pseudo-Hieronymus writes that Christ will judge the quick and the dead. We may suggest that this remark has something to do with the idea — first mentioned by Epiphanius and taken over by Filaster in XXXVI — that Christ did not rise from the dead but will rise at the end of time.

From this we may conclude that Pseudo-Hieronymus gives a free rendering of information given by Pseudo-Tertullian and Filaster.¹

Augustine

In *haer.* 8, the only passage in which Augustine speaks of the Cerinthians, he appears to be dependent on Epiphanius.² This is obvious from his remark that the Cerinthians are also called Merinthians. He also says that Cerinthus did not believe that Jesus rose from the dead. According to Augustine, Cerinthus observed similar precepts of the Law, besides circumcision. He agrees with Filaster that Cerinthus kept the Sabbath, but this does not mean that he is dependent on this author.

Augustine does not repeat the suggestion that Christ was with Jesus only for a time. The information taken from Epiphanius is completed with Eusebius' remarks³ on Cerinthus' Millenarian beliefs.⁴

¹ Bardy denied the influence of Filaster but he did not go into chapter X.

² See B. Altaner, *Augustinus und Epiphanius von Salamis. Eine quellenkritische Studie*, in: *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck*, Museum Lessianum - Section historique, No. 13, Gembloux 1951, Tome I: *Antiquité*, p. 265-295.

³ See *hist. eccl.* III 28 2.

⁴ Dependent on Augustine are: Isidorus of Seville, *de haer. lib.* IX, *etym. lib.* VIII VI 8 and *Quaest. in Vet. Test. in Lev.* XI 7, Honorius Augustodunensis, *de haer. lib.* XXIII, and Paulus, *de haer. lib.* IV.

Praedestinatus

Like Augustine, the author of *Praedestinatus* calls the doctrine of the Cerinthians the eighth heresy, but he differs from Augustine in saying that the Cerinthians took the Law "literally". Nothing is said about Cerinthus' Millenarian ideas. He asserts that Paul wrote against the Cerinthians in his Letter to the Galatians. He may have drawn this conclusion from Epiphanius' reference to Cerinthus agitating in Galatia,¹ but it may also be that he was influenced by Epiphanius' remark about Cerinthus' observance of the Jewish Law.

Theodoret

Theodoret writes about the Ebionites, Nazoraeans and Cerinthians in this order, thus deviating from other lists in which Cerinthus usually precedes Ebion. In this, however, he shows the influence of Eusebius. The beginning of the passage about Cerinthus is also taken from Eusebius. Next comes a passage partially borrowed from Irenaeus in which he says that Cerinthus preached in Asia, and then another passage partly borrowed from Hippolytus concerning his Egyptian background. From Eusebius comes the information that Cerinthus called his followers after his own name. Theodoret once more shows his dependence on Irenaeus and Hippolytus when he speaks of Cerinthus' ideas about the Creation, and on Irenaeus alone when he deals with Cerinthus' Christology. Theodoret writes that his Christology is about the same as that of the Hebrews.² This may be a conclusion drawn from Hippolytus' statement that Ebion's Christology is the same as that of Cerinthus (and Carpocrates). Like Hippolytus, Theodoret had nothing to say about the resurrection of Jesus.³

He proceeds to deal with Cerinthus' Millenarian ideas, and in this he is in agreement with Eusebius. Theodoret himself is responsible for the remark that Cerinthus taught "about certain horrors", but this is a reference to Cerinthus' supposed Millenarian ideas.

Finally, in words borrowed from Irenaeus, he speaks about the meeting between John the apostle and Cerinthus in the bathhouse at Ephesus.

¹ With regard to the Elkesaites *Praedestinatus* writes that he depends on Epiphanius.

² This means that Jesus is the son of Joseph and Mary, see also *haer. fab.* V 11.

³ See Hippolytus, *Ref.* X 21.

Timothy

It is clear that Timothy, *de recept. haer.* (c. 28 C - 29 A), depends mostly on Eusebius, and also on Epiphanius. It is noteworthy that Timothy observes that "others" say that Cerinthus was an Ebionite, but it is not clear to whom he is referring. But it appears also from the other sources known to us that Cerinthus is taking shape as a clearcut Jewish Christian.

Dionysius bar-Salibi

We have already said that Dionysius, after quoting from Hippolytus, goes on to inform his readers in his own words about the doctrine of Cerinthus.¹ He is clearly dependent on Epiphanius. This explains why he writes that Cerinthus calls Paul and his disciples "deceitful labourers" in his Letters. This is no more than a careless reference to Epiphanius' remark that Paul, in II Cor. 11, 13 was referring to Cerinthus when he spoke about "deceitful labourers".

Otherwise Dionysius makes only a few random remarks about Cerinthus. What he has to say about the Creation and the birth of Jesus shows some resemblance to the views of Pseudo-Tertullian, but the reference to Millenarianism owes its origin to Eusebius.

Conclusion

Irenaeus and Hippolytus, who depends on Irenaeus, describe Cerinthus as a Gnostic. We do not know what source Irenaeus used for this assertion but it is possible that he knew no more than that Cerinthus was a heretic operating in Asia.

Pseudo-Tertullian does not alter this description but completes it with other Gnostic traits, especially those drawn from traditional beliefs about Carpocrates.

It is noteworthy that Caius speaks of Cerinthus as a Millenarian. This assertion is based upon his supposed Asian background, which in itself was sufficient reason for ascribing to him all Asian heretical phenomena.

Epiphanius describes Cerinthus as a heretic living in the earliest times of the Church. He calls him Paul's main opponent. Observations

¹ See p. 4-6.

about Cerinthus' Judaistic tendencies were based on data taken from Paul's Letters. Theodoret still describes Cerinthus as a Gnostic, but later authors describe him as a Judaist, though some of them admit that he taught that the world was created by angels.

This means that no author knows of any other historical traditions about Cerinthus, apart from those which describe him as a heretic living in Asia during the Apostolic period. The idea that he was a "Judaistic-Millenarian-Gnostic", and any conclusion drawn from this supposition regarding the origin or development of Gnosticism, has no historical value.¹ These notions about Cerinthus are the inventions of early Christian authors.

EBIONITES

Irenaeus

Irenaeus writes that the Ebionites differed from Cerinthus in saying that the world was created by God (*adv. Haer.* I 26 2). The reference to Jesus is limited to one sentence which causes some difficulty. The manuscripts say that the Ebionites did not hold the same opinion (*non similiter*) with regard to the Lord as Cerinthus and Carpocrates.

The reading (*non similiter*) is difficult to accept as original, for two reasons. If there is a divergence between Cerinthus and the Ebionites, why does Irenaeus not discuss this? Moreover, Hippolytus, who quotes from Irenaeus in his reference to the Ebionites, omits the word *non*. For this reason many scholars omit the word *non* also in the text of Irenaeus.²

¹ This is the idea of B. Reicke, *Diakonie, Festfreude und Zelos*, in: *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift* 1951: 5, Uppsala 1951, p. 283-287, and J. Daniélou, *Théologie ...*, p. 80-81. A. Wurm, *Kerinth - ein Gnostiker oder Judaist?*, in: *Theol. Quartalschr.* 87 1904, p. 20-38, tried to describe Cerinthus as a Judaist, but already J. Kunze *De Historia Gnosticismi Fontibus*, Lipsiae 1894, p. 65-66, showed that Epiphanius is responsible for this picture. This is accepted by Schoeps, *Theologie ...*, p. 20, W. Bauer, s.v. *Cerinth*, in: *Rel. in Gesch. und Gegenw.* I³, c. 1632, and E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* III, Stuttgart-Berlin 1923, p. 626, n. 2. An example of the uncritical use of sources is H. Schlier's description of "die Anhänger des Kerinth" (the same applies to that of "die Anhänger des 'Elchasai'"), in: *Der Brief an die Galater*, in: *krit.-exeget. Komm. ü.d.N.T.*, Göttingen 1962¹², p. 23-24.

² Apart from the manuscripts Eusebius and Theodoret also appear to have read *non similiter*, see p. 26 and p. 12.

Nevertheless, we wish to adduce some arguments for retaining this word. First of all one must realise that in this part of his book against heresies Irenaeus is primarily interested not in doctrines about Christ but in ideas about God. Therefore there is no reason for him to go into details about the Christological beliefs of the Ebionites. Secondly, we notice a divergence of opinion between the opinions of Cerinthus and Carpocrates,¹ on the one hand, and the Ebionites on the other, in passages dealing with the doctrine about Jesus. From these passages it appears that according to the Ebionites Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary (III 21 1), but nothing is said about Christ descending on Jesus. For this reason Irenaeus writes that the Ebionites cannot be saved because they do not accept that God became man (IV 33 4 and V 1 3). They also, with Theodotion and Aquila, read the word *νεάνις* in Is. 7, 14 (III 21 1).²

The passage III 11 7 makes it quite clear that Cerinthus and the Ebionites differ in their beliefs about Christ. Here it is said that the Ebionites prefer the Gospel of Matthew, but "Those again who distinguish between Jesus and Christ and say that Christ cannot suffer but that only Jesus suffered" prefer Mark. And by "those" Irenaeus obviously meant Cerinthus and Carpocrates.³

This seems to prove that we may retain the reading *non similiter*. Those however who prefer to delete the word *non* can explain this passage only by pointing to the rejection of the Virgin Birth by both Cerinthus and the Ebionites.

Irenaeus makes other observations about the Ebionites without any commentary. He writes that they use only the Gospel of Matthew and that they repudiate Paul (cf. III 15 1) because he abandoned the Law. They explain the prophets *curiosius*, which means "carefully" or "diligently" not "in a remarkable way".⁴ They have themselves circumcised and follow a Jewish way of life. Finally, it is said that they honour Jerusalem as the house of God and face towards Jerusalem when they pray.⁵ From V 1 3 one might conclude that they celebrate the Eucharist with water.⁶

¹ See I 25 1 and I 26 1.

² See Schmidt-Wainberg, *o.c.*, p. 403-405, who reject the word *non*.

³ See p. 3.

⁴ Contrary to Schoeps, *Theologie* ..., p. 159.

⁵ See Schoeps, *Theologie* ..., p. 141. The practice is also available in Epiphanius' description of the Elkesaites 19 3 5.

⁶ The passage speaks about the Virgin Birth. And in this connection he speaks of

Tertullian

According to Tertullian Ebion taught that Jesus was a mere man (*de carne Christi*). Tertullian is the first writer to mention the proper name Ebion who taught a false doctrine comparable to that of Valentinus and Marcion (*de praescr.* XXXIII 3-5 and 11). Tertullian tends to speak of Ebion's doctrine as having already been rejected in the New Testament. According to him John wrote his Letter against those who denied that Jesus was the son of God, as Ebion "maintained" (*de praescr.* XXXIII 11). He also thinks that John 1,14 was written with Ebion in view (*de carne Chr.* 24). The rejection of the Virgin Birth was already refuted by Paul in Gal. 4, 4 (*de virg. vel.*). In the same Epistle Paul dealt with the question of the significance of the Law (*de praescr.* XXXIII 3-5).

From these passages one may not conclude that Tertullian wishes to state that John and Paul were referring to Ebion. He merely wishes to state that Ebion's doctrine had already been rejected in the days of the Apostles. However, his readers could not be blamed for concluding that Ebion was already proclaiming his beliefs in the time of John and Paul.

All this does not prove that Tertullian shows any special knowledge of the Ebionites. He says little more than that Ebion rejects the Virgin Birth and lives according to the Law. Only one passage demands special attention: in *de carne Chr.* 14 it is suggested that Christ assumed an angel's form. Tertullian cannot agree. He points to Psalm 8 where it is said that Christ is both lower than the angels and also higher, since he is the spirit of God. He goes on to say: *Poterit haec opinio Hebioni convenire qui nudum hominem et tantum ex semine David, id est non et dei filium constituit Iesum.*

This passage has been taken as a proof that Tertullian wishes to show that Ebion considered Jesus to be an angel.¹ But this conclusion cannot be accepted. Tertullian merely intends to say that it might have been convenient for Ebion if Jesus had been an angel (*poterit haec opinio Hebioni convenire*). But, according to Tertullian, this is

commixtionem vini caelestis, et solam aquam saecularem volunt esse, see Schoeps, Theologie ..., p. 194, n. 3.

¹ This is the opinion of M. Werner, *Die Entstehung des christl. Dogmas*, Bern 1954², p. 331-332, and Schoeps, *Theologie*, ... p. 463, but see also W. Michaelis, *Die Engelchristologie*, Basel 1942, p. 148-153.

not because he wishes him to be superior to man, for he accepts him as a mere man (*nudus homo*). The real reason why he would like to consider him an angel is that in that case he would have been able to say that Jesus was a prophet, because Zachariah said that "an angel talked in him".¹

The whole passage is based on a suggestion made by Tertullian, who obviously started from his knowledge that Ebion wished to prove that Jesus was a prophet. Tertullian says that this could be proved with reference to Zach. 1, 14, provided one accepts that Christ had assumed the nature of an angel.

This means that Ebion did not use Zach. 1, 14 in order to prove his ideas, that he did not say that Jesus was an angel, and that he only spoke of Jesus as a prophet.

Hippolytus

Hippolytus appears to be dependent on Irenaeus at the beginning of both passages dealing with the Ebionites, *Refut.* VII 34 and X 22. But, in disagreement with the manuscripts with the text of Irenaeus, Hippolytus understands that the Christological conceptions of Carpocrates, Cerinthus and the Ebionites were the same (*similiter*). This enables us to explain why Hippolytus, supplementing Irenaeus, writes that Christ was justified by the Law, which had not been fulfilled by anyone before him. For Irenaeus says that Cerinthus believed that Christ surpassed all others in righteousness, knowledge and wisdom.²

Because of his righteousness Jesus was called Jesus the Christ at a later stage in his life. Nevertheless, Hippolytus is careful to insist that, according to the Ebionites, Jesus, even after becoming Christ, remained man. This again agrees with what Irenaeus says about the Ebionites. Jesus' humanity is emphasised by his saying that everyone who fulfilled the Law could also be called Christ.³

We see that Hippolytus omits all other information to be found in Irenaeus. He only says that the Ebionites lived according to the Mosaic Law. This means that Hippolytus confines his remarks about the

¹ Zach. 1, 14. J. Barbel, *Christos Angelos*, in: *Theophaneia* 3, Bonn 1941, p. 386, only writes: "In Christus wohnt ein Engel wie in den Propheten (Ebion)".

² I 26 1.

³ The same in Carpocrates, in Irenaeus I 25 1.

Ebionites to a description of their Christology. In this he was influenced by his belief that their Christology agreed with that of Carpocrates and Cerinthus.

In conclusion we may say that Hippolytus gives us no more information about the Ebionites than does Irenaeus. But he shows a tendency to accept a closer relationship between Cerinthus and the Ebionites. In VII 35 he even writes that they belonged to the same school of thought. With Tertullian he considers that Ebion was a historical person.¹

Pseudo-Tertullian

Pseudo-Tertullian writes that Ebion was Cerinthus' *successor*. We do not believe that in saying this Ps.-Tertullian differs from his predecessors. His assertion can easily be explained by the way in which Irenaeus and Hippolytus write about the relation between Cerinthus and Ebion.

Nothing is said about Ebion's Christology; obviously because Irenaeus was reticent about his Christological beliefs.

Finally, Ps.-Tertullian emphasises Ebion's adherence to Judaism. As an argument for this way of life the Ebionites were supposed to have referred to the passage in Matth. 10, 24.²

We may conclude that Ps.-Tertullian does not give any new information about the Ebionites. We need not believe that he used any other sources than Irenaeus and Hippolytus, *Ref.* X 22.

Origen

According to Origen the Ebionites were Jews who believed in Jesus. They quote the words of Jesus when he said that he was sent to the lost sheep of the house Israel only (*de Princ.* IV 3 8, cf. Matth. 10, 6).

¹ Hippolytus writes that Theodotus of Byzantine is a disciple of Ebion and Cerinthus, *Ref.* VII 35 (cf. X 23). Although Theodotus is often mentioned among the heretics, he is usually associated with Ebion.

² The text reads: *nemo discipulus super magistrum, nec servus super dominum*. Epiphanius 28 5 1 writes that in the Gospel of Matthew used by the Cerinthians was found a similar passage taken from Matthew 10, 25: ἀρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ ἵνα γενῆται ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος. However in 30 26 2 and 30 33 4 (cf. also 7) the same passage is said to be used by the Ebionites to defend the practice of circumcision. Finally it is met in Pseudo Hieronymus, *indic. de haer.* X. See also A. Resch, *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien* III: *Paralleltexte zu Lucas*, Leipzig 1895) p. 100-101.

Moreover we find some remarks which are already to be found in Irenaeus: the rejection of the Virgin Birth (*Ep. ad. Tit.*, *Hom.* XVII *in Luc.*), a life according to the Law (*Ep. ad Rom.* III 11, *contra Cels.* II 1 and *in Matth.* XVI 12), the obligation to be circumcised (*Hom.* III 5 *in Gen.*) and the distinction between clean and unclean food (*in Matth.* XI 12). They also reject Paul (*Hom.* XIX 12 *in Jer.* and *contra Cels.* V 65).

Their Jewish way of life is also shown by their celebrating Easter on the same day as the Jews and with unleavened bread. According to Origen they tried to justify this practice by insisting that they were *imitatores Christi* (*in Matth. comm. ser.* 79). This is interesting because we encountered the same argument in Pseudo-Tertullian in connection with their obedience to the Law.¹

It is noteworthy that Origen writes about two groups of Ebionites: one group believing in the Virgin Birth and the other rejecting this doctrine (*contra Cels.* V 61, cf. V 65, see also *in Matth.* XVI 12). One might suppose that he is speaking about Jewish Christians within and outside the Church.² Although Origen knew of Jewish Christians within the Church (*Hom.* X 2 *in Lev.*) it is hazardous to accept this supposition without further evidence.

Origen seems to know the original significance of the name "Ebionite". He writes that this word refers to their poverty, but he explains it as a reference to their poverty of understanding (*de Princ.* IV 38, *contra Cels.* II 1, *in Matth.* XVI 12 and *Hom.* III 5 *in Gen.*).³

In a few passages Origen quotes a "Gospel according to the Hebrews" (*in Joh.* II 12, *Hom.* XV 4 *in Jer.*, cf. *in Matth.* XV 14), but he never associates this Gospel with the Ebionites. This is significant. It may be an indication that Origen did not know that this Gospel was used by the Ebionites because he had no personal knowledge of this group. But it is also possible that the "Gospel of the Hebrews" really belonged to another group. If this were true, one might suppose that it was the Gospel of the original Jewish-Christian section of the Egyptian Church of which the Gentile Christians, using the Gospel of the Egyptians, formed the other half.

¹ With the words of *Matth.* 10, 24, see previous note.

² Cf. Schoeps, *Theologie* ..., p. 16: "... judenchristlichen Konventikel ... die im grosskirchlichen Verband verblieben sind".

³ Origen also knows the proper name Ebion: *Ep. ad Rom.* III 11.

This second supposition could be corroborated by the contents of the Gospel of the Hebrews which speaks of the holy Spirit begetting Jesus in a way which differs from the simple Ebionite belief that Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary.¹

If this is true it can also explain Origen's observation about the two Ebionite groups. We may suggest that some of the original Egyptian Jewish-Christians joined the Ebionite sect and that they introduced some ideas about the birth of Jesus that were taken from the "Gospel of the Hebrews" and which Origen interpreted as proof of their belief in the Virgin Birth.

We thus conclude that it would not be wise to ascribe the "Gospel of the Hebrews" to the Ebionites.

Eusebius

In his *hist. eccl.* III 27 Eusebius devotes a whole chapter to the Ebionites. He agrees with Origen in saying that they owe their name to their poverty of understanding and their meagre notions about Christ. He clearly depends on Hippolytus when he says that for them Christ was a mere man, born of Mary and justified by his progress in virtue.² The Ebionites lived according to the Law because they wished to follow Christ.

Then Eusebius proceeds to write about a second group who believed in the Virgin Birth. This division into groups was taken from Origen. We note that Eusebius is much more detailed in his reference to the two groups, as is seen in his remark that the second group, who believe in the Virgin Birth, reject the pre-existence of Christ.

This detail is not necessarily the result of special knowledge. It was certainly added because Origen writes in his *Epist. ad Titum* about the Ebionites, Valentinians and Monarchians *qui primogenitum eum negant*.³ We doubt, however, whether this assertion applies also to the Ebionites, according to Origen.

¹ See Jerome, in *Es.* 11, 2, and Vielhauer, in: Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, p. 107.

² See Hippolytus, *Ref.* VII 34.

³ Thus A. Schmidtke, *Neue Fragmente zu den judenchristlichen Evangelien*, in: *Texte u. Unters.* 37, Leipzig 1911, p. 144. Cf. also in *Matth.* XVI 12. Origen writes that Jesus was not accepted as Word and Wisdom. The same in Eusebius III 27 3 and also Pseudo-Ignatius.

In the description of the second group we meet with all kinds of ideas which can be traced back to Irenaeus' description of the Ebionites in general: they live according to the Law, they use the "Gospel of the Hebrews", they keep the Sabbath (and Sunday) and they observe other Jewish customs.

The reason why Eusebius ascribes the typical Ebionite conceptions to this second group is to be found in the way he must have interpreted Irenaeus. Irenaeus wrote that the Ebionites did *not* hold the same belief about Jesus as the Cerinthians. The Cerinthians believed that Jesus "was not born of a virgin", according to Irenaeus. Eusebius therefore concluded that for this reason Irenaeus wrote about Ebionites who *did* accept the Virgin Birth!¹

This supposition also explains why Eusebius uses words taken from Hippolytus when he speaks about the group that rejected the Virgin Birth. For it was Hippolytus who, in opposition to Irenaeus, wrote about the similarity between Ebionites, Cerinthians and Carpocratians with regard to their ideas about Christ. This means that Eusebius concluded that Irenaeus and Hippolytus were referring to two different kinds of Ebionites.

Concerning the second group Eusebius remarks that they used the "Gospel of the Hebrews", to the exclusion of the others.

In connection with this passage we may point to three statements. In *hist. eccl.* III 25 5 the "Gospel of the Hebrews" is said to be used "especially by the Hebrews who accepted Christ". In this passage also it seems that Eusebius wishes to state that the "Gospel of the Hebrews" is not used to the exclusion of other Gospels. It is significant that he does not attribute the Gospel to the Ebionites! Next we notice that Eusebius differs from Irenaeus who said that the Ebionites used the Gospel of Matthew. Finally, Eusebius differs from Origen who wrote about the "Gospel of the Hebrews" but did not associate it with the Ebionites.

We conclude that Eusebius is trying to reconcile different traditions about the "Gospel of the Hebrews". He obviously concluded from Origen's account that the Ebionites used this book.

We reject the idea that Eusebius had any personal knowledge about the contents of this Gospel. Of their contents he knows only that Papias knew a story that can also be found in the "Gospel of the Hebrews" (*hist. eccl.* III 39 17).²

¹ See Schmidtke, *o.c.*, p. 145-147.

² Since Eusebius stated that the second group did not believe in the pre-existence

But Eusebius seems to have been better informed about a Gospel in Syriac or Aramaic. In his *Theophany* he says that a Gospel in the Hebrew language exists among the Jews. Elsewhere he speaks of a Gospel in the Hebrew language that has come into his hands.¹ We may identify this Gospel with the one from which Hegesippus quotes.²

This means that Eusebius speaks about two Gospels: the Gospel of the Hebrews and a Gospel written in Syriac or Aramaic. The former, written in Greek, seems to have been unknown to him. From the passages quoted by Origen he concluded that it was used by the Ebionites. He was probably acquainted with the second of these two Gospels. He said it was used by Jews who believed in Christ, but not by any particular sect.³

Next we find some scattered remarks about Jewish Christians. When we come to Symmachus we shall deal with the passage in which he speaks of Symmachus being a Jewish Christian⁴.

Eusebius suggests that the Ebionites were already denounced in Apostolic times.⁵ He also writes that relatives of Jesus lived in Nazareth and Kochaba.⁶ In his *Onomasticon* he writes that in Chooba, apparently identical with Kochaba, the Ebionites found a home.⁷ From this we might draw the conclusion that he presupposed a direct link between Christians in Palestine and Ebionites living east of the river Jordan.

of Jesus and also used the "Gospel of the Hebrews", Vielhauer discovers a discrepancy because one of the quotations from that Gospel supposes a pre-existent Christ, see *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, p. 78. We do not go into the question as to whether this quotation was really taken from the Gospel of the Hebrews, but we may say that the idea of Christ's pre-existence is something Eusebius had concluded from this sources.

¹ *Theophan.* IV 12 and Mai, *Nova Patr. Bibl.* VI 1.155.

² See Eusebius, *hist. eccl.* IV 22 8.

³ Thus we agree with Vielhauer, *o.c.*, p. 79, who supposes Eusebius to be acquainted with two different Jewish Christian Gospels. We may add that he possessed personal knowledge of only one.

⁴ See p. 52-53.

⁵ See *de eccl. theol.* 1. 14.

⁶ See *hist. eccl.* I 7 14.

⁷ In *Onomasticon*, ed. de Lagarde, we find the name Χωβά (301, 32-34). This was rendered by Jerome *de situ* with the word *Choba* (ed. de Lagarde 112, 9-13). In Eusebius, *hist. eccl.* I 7 14 we read Κωχαβα. Epiphanius writes in 29 7 7 about Nazoraeans living in Κωκάβη, Χωκάβη δὲ Εβραϊστὶ λεγομένη and in 30 2 7; 30 18 1 and 40 1 5 he mentions Κωκαβα as a dwelling place of the Ebionites. B. Bagatti, *L'Eglise de la Circoncision*, Jérusalem 1965, p. 21, seems to distinguish between the two words, but T. Zahn, *Forschungen zur Gesch. des neutestamentl. Kanons* I, Erlangen 1881, p. 333-336, identifies them.

We may conclude that Eusebius links together data found in Irenaeus with other data found in Hippolytus and Origen. He has no first hand knowledge of the Ebionites. He knows something about a Gospel written in Aramaic or Syriac. We find an isolated remark about Ebionites living in Kochaba.¹

Epiphanius

Epiphanius speaks of the Ebionites after dealing with the Nazoraeans. This means that, unlike the other sources, hardly anything is said here about the connection between Cerinthus and the Ebionites. On the other hand we notice that he compares the Nazoraeans with the Ebionites.² After having said that the ideas of the Ebionites may be compared with, among others, those of the Samaritans, he goes on to say that Ebion appeared "with them" (30 2 1). By "them" he obviously means the Nazoraeans, of whom he says that "from them and with them Ebion originated".³

Epiphanius deals in some detail with the relationship between the Ebionites and the Nazoraeans. He supposes that the sect of the Ebionites originated at the time of the devastation of Jerusalem (30 2 7-9). The Christians among the Jews fled to Pella in Decapolis, near the regions of Batanaea and Basanitis. But Ebion moved to Kochaba (30 2 8) near Karnaim, also called Asteroth, in the region of Basanitis. There we find the origin of this "evil doctrine".⁴

¹ Nicephorus Callistus, *eccl. hist.* III 13 and V 12, depends on Eusebius.

² They are mentioned in a long enumeration of heresies which are compared with the Ebionites (30 1 3). But in a different context we sometimes find them together: 51 2 3; 51 6 7; 51 10 4 and 69 23 1-2, see also 31 21.

³ The following sentence is not clear. It reads that Ebion states "in the first place" that Jesus is the son of Joseph. In this he agrees "with others", but, he continues, "he only differs (from them) in that he adheres to the Law and Judaism". The "others" can hardly be identified with the Nazoraeans who lived according to the Law. It is also impossible that he is thinking of the heresies mentioned in 30 1 3, because we find, among others, Jews and Samaritans. Since after "in the first place" we do not find "in the second place", we assume that Epiphanius quotes a source in which Ebionites were compared with non-Jewish heretics who preceded them in a list of heresies. Epiphanius depends on Eusebius, *hist. eccl.* III 5 3, where it is said that the Christians left Jerusalem and went to Pella, a city in Perea. In 29 7 8 the Nazoraeans also are supposed to have their dwelling-place in Pella and Basanitis.

⁴ Cf. Schmidtke, *Neue Fragmente ...*, p. 233: "Die Nachrichten, Ebion habe zuerst im basanitischen Kokaba gewohnt und nach dem Fall Jerusalems seine Wirksamkeit

This means that Epiphanius wants to show that both the Ebionites and the Nazoraeans originated from Christian Jews who left Jerusalem. He does not clarify the relationship between these two groups. They influenced each other, but he does not say to what extent (30 2 9).

We cannot agree that Epiphanius used fresh data concerning the origin of the Ebionites. He knew about Jerusalem and Pella and he connected this knowledge with Eusebius' remark about the Ebionites finding a dwelling place in Kochaba. Hence he concluded that Ebion chose Kochaba as his home. There he proclaimed his own doctrine, independently of the other Jewish Christians.

In 30 18 1 Epiphanius describes the area of Ebionite distribution. They struck root particularly in Nabatea and Paneas, Moabitis and Kochaba in the region of Basanitis, in the vicinity of Adraa.¹ Thence they moved to Asia, Rome and Cyprus.

We do not know why Epiphanius indicated Asia, Rome and Cyprus as places where the Ebionites settled. His mention of Cyprus may be the result of his own observation, for he lived on that island. Since he writes that it was not Cerinthus but Ebion who met the Apostle John in the bath-house at Ephesus (30 24 1-5), he is supposed to have believed that followers of Ebion existed in that region. In a chapter devoted to the Ebionites in his *Panarion* he is apparently speaking only of the Ebionites to the east of the river Jordan.

One of the main themes of his account of Ebion is the development of his beliefs. According to 30 2 2 Ebion believed that Jesus was the son of Joseph, but he altered his idea about this after having come under the influence of Elxai (30 3 1). This is clearly rooted in 30 17 5 where we read that the Ebionites accepted Ebion's doctrine concerning circumcision, the Sabbath and the Jewish way of life, but adopted Elxai's ideas with regard to Christ.²

begonnen, sind von Epiphanius, *haer.* 30 2 mit der bei Euseb., *h.e.* III 5 3 wohl im Anschluss an Hegesipp geschilderten Flucht der Urgemeinde nach Pella zu der Anschauung verarbeitet worden, Ebion habe seine ersten Opfer unter den Flüchtlingen gefunden, die sich in und bei Pella, das ja Batanāa und Basanitis benachbart läge, eine neue Heimat gesucht hatten".

¹ Nabatidis is the region which Epiphanius mentions in connection with the Ossaeans, 19 1 2 and 10, and Sampsaeans, 53 1 1. Paneas is mentioned in Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. de Lagarde, p. 215, 82 and 172, 55-56. Moabitis is also mentioned in connection with the Ossaeans, 19 1 2 and 10, and the Sampsaeans, 53 1 1. Adraa is found in Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. de Lagarde, p. 213, 36-39.

² Epiphanius often writes about the influence of Elxai. In 19 5 4 it is said that the

This supposition results from the conflicting information about Ebion in the sources used by Epiphanius.

In the first place Epiphanius used Irenaeus as a source for saying that Ebion believed that Jesus was the son of Joseph.¹

But in the second place he is supposed to have discovered some Ebionite sources which clearly showed a later development.

These sources are as follows:

In 30 3 7 it is said that the Ebionites used the Gospel of Matthew, which they called the "Gospel according to the Hebrews". Epiphanius remarks that this name is acceptable because Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew. It is possible that Epiphanius was dependent on the one hand on Irenaeus, who wrote that the Ebionites used the Gospel of Matthew,² and on the other hand on Eusebius who wrote that they used the "Gospel of the Hebrews".³ In 30 13 2 he again speaks about the Gospel and repeats that we are dealing with the Gospel of Matthew. Then he continues: ἐν τῷ γούν παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐαγγελίῳ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ὀνομαζομένῳ, οὐχ ὅλῳ δὲ πληρεστάτῳ, ἀλλὰ νενοθευμένῳ καὶ καὶ ἡκρωτηριασμένῳ ('Εβραϊκὸν δὲ τοῦτο καλοῦσιν). From this we gather that this Gospel differed from the canonical Gospels and that it was called the "Hebrew Gospel". It is conceivable that Epiphanius did not know its real name. Some scholars deduced its name from a quotation given by Epiphanius in 30 13 2-3 which reads: "... Jesus ... who invited *us* ...". This phrase refers to the disciples. Hence the conclusion that the Gospel was written by Jesus' disciples. For this reason it was identified with the "Gospel of the Twelve", which is mentioned by Origen by this name only.⁴ It is not

Ebionites, Nazoraeans and Ossaeans were influenced by Elxai. From this passage we cannot, like Hilgenfeld, draw the conclusion, *Ketzergeschichte* ..., p. 426, n. 726, that the Ebionites were supposed to be an earlier group than the Nazoraeans, cf. Epiphanius, ed. Holl, p. 22, where it is rightly said that the passage only means that the Nazoraeans were influenced to a lesser extent by Elxai.

¹ III 21 1.

² I 26 2.

³ III 27 4.

⁴ Origen, *hom. I 1 in Luc.*, cf. also Jerome, *adv. Pel.* III 2, who speaks about a Gospel *juxta Hebraeos* which is identified with a Gospel *secundum Apostolos sive, ut plerique autumnant, juxta Mathaeum*. Those who identify the Gospel of the Ebionites with the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles are: M.-J. Lagrange, *L'Évangile selon les Hébreux*, in: *Revue Bibl.* 31 1922, p. 161-181 and 321-349, p. 170 and H. Waitz, *Neue Untersuchungen über die sogenannten jüdenchristlichen Evangelien*, in: *Zeitschr. f.d. neuest. Wissensch.* 36 1937, p. 60-81, p. 70-71.

necessary, however, to arrive at this conclusion. If we wish to seek the name of this Gospel in Epiphanius' quotations we may indicate the following passage: "I have chosen John and James ... and *you* Matthew ..." (30 13 3). This might suggest that Matthew is the author of this work who speaks of himself and the other disciples as "us".¹

The contents of this Gospel differed from the information we receive about the Ebionites in Irenaeus, Eusebius and Hippolytus. John the Baptist is supposed to have rejected meat because this Gospel avoids saying that he ate locusts (30 14 4). At the baptism of Jesus this version says: "Today I have begotten you", (30 13 7). Moreover, the Gospel omits a genealogy of Jesus (30 13 6).² Jesus says that he has come to abolish offerings (30 16 5). At the Last Supper Jesus wonders whether he should eat meat (30 22 4).

In 30 15 1 Epiphanius mentions an Ebionite work called *Periodoi Petrou* which is supposed to have been written by Clement. Epiphanius writes that this work rejected virginity and denounced Elia, Samson and the other prophets. It also said that Peter washed himself daily and forbade the eating of meat. Because this work purported to be written by Clement and because its contents show a close affinity with the Pseudo-Clementines it is generally accepted that Epiphanius had discovered the so-called "Grundschrift" of these writings.³

Epiphanius also writes that he made use of a work called *Anabathmoi Iakobou*. In this James is said to have spoken against the Temple, fire, the altar and other things (30 16 6-7). It is generally believed that this work also was quoted in Pseudo-Clementine literature, especially in the passage in *Recognitiones* I 33-71 in which James speaks about sacrifice and the Temple.⁴

Finally, it appears that Epiphanius knew also some other writings which he supposed to be Ebionite. He mentions books issued under the names of James, Matthew, John and "other Apostles" (30 23 1-2).

¹ See Harnack, *Gesch. der Altchristl. Lit.* II 1, p. 627, and A. Schmidtke, *Zum Hebräer-evangelium*, in: *Zeitschr. f.d. neutest. Wissensch.* 35 1936, p. 24-44, p. 30-32, Bardenhewer, *Gesch. der altchristl. Lit.* I, p. 518-520, suggested the name "Gospel of the Twelve by Matthew".

² In 30 14 2 it is said that Cerinthus and Carpocrates used the Gospel of Matthew with a genealogy to prove that Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary, see p. 10-11.

³ This is already found in R. A. Lipsius, *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanius*, Wien 1865, p. 143-144, See also Schoeps, *Theologie ...*, p. 461-479, and G. Strecker, *Das Judentum der Pseudoklementinen*, Berlin 1958, p. 265.

⁴ Cf. Lipsius, *o.c.*, p. 144-145, and Strecker, *o.c.*, p. 221-254, esp. 251-253.

Since he does not quote from these works one cannot tell which books he is writing about.

Epiphanius considered that the *Periodoi Petrou* and the *Anabathmoi* were Ebionite. But in reading these books he was surprised by two things. In the first place he noticed that their contents showed divergences with the well known theories about the Ebionites. In the second place he perceived that the contents of these writings showed some similarity with ideas favoured by the Elkesaites, according to the traditions about this group which were familiar to him. Hence he concluded that the Ebionites must have been influenced by the Elkesaites.

However, Epiphanius indicates three customs mentioned in these later sources which he nevertheless supposed to be original Ebionite practice.

He is referring to the customs of avoiding contact with non-Jews, of cleansing the body after sexual intercourse, and of preserving virginity (30 2 3-6).

About avoiding contact with non-Jews and ritual cleansing after sexual intercourse, we may observe that the reason why they were thought to be Ebionite was the mention of similar practices in the *Periodoi Petrou*. This may be concluded from passages in Pseudo-Clementine literature which mention that Christians must avoid contact with non-Christians, and stress the importance of purifications.¹ The conclusion that these practices were not the result of Elxai's influence is derived from the fact, according to Epiphanius, they were already known among the Samaritans.² This means that they were pre-Christian, and this fact alone sufficed to induce Epiphanius to accept them as original Ebionite customs.

The reason why virginity is supposed to be an original Ebionite practice can be deduced from the passage 30 2 6. Here it is said that the Ebionites wrote letters or books to "presbyters and virgins". It is not clear to which writings Epiphanius refers. He is probably referring to some treatise on virginity which he ascribes to the Ebionites. However, this practice, according to Epiphanius, is very ancient,

¹ Purification after having been in contact with a non-Jew is not found in the Pseudo-Clementines. But we find the prohibition to eat with people who are not yet baptized, cf. *Hom.* XIII 4 3. Purification after sexual intercourse: *Hom.* VII 8 2; XI 1 and XI 33 4.

² See 9 3 5. This applies only to the prohibition of contact with non-Jews and the practice of washing oneself fully clothed.

since they honoured virginity "on account of James". This too means that it was a custom prevalent before the Ebionites came under the influence of Elxai, and may therefore be considered as part of the original Ebionite teaching.

With regard to virginity Epiphanius is obliged to admit that it was rejected at a later date (30 2 6) because the *Periodoi Petrou* speaks about the obligation to marry (30 15 1-2).¹ Since these *Periodoi* are supposed to have been written by Clement, and this same Clement wrote a letter to the churches about virginity, Epiphanius is forced to conclude that the Ebionites altered the text of the *Periodoi*.²

This means that the original Ebionite teaching was that Jesus was the son of Joseph. Virginity and some customary purifications were also taught. All other practices were due to the influence of Elxai. We will now examine those beliefs and customs.

The Christological ideas of the Ebionites are very confused, according to Epiphanius (30 3 1). The reason for this confusion is the influence of Elxai, felt at an early stage (30 3 2). It is obvious that Epiphanius is mainly dependent on the "*Grundschrift*" for the various Christological conceptions to which he refers. Since they are supposed to be of Elkesaite origin, he evidently feels free to complete the picture, taken from the "*Grundschrift*", which other conceptions traditionally attributed to Elxai.

In 30 3 5-6 Epiphanius speaks of three Christological conceptions. Some Ebionites say that Adam was Christ, created by God who blew his own breath into him. This concept cannot be found in this precise form in Pseudo-Clementine literature, but it is not difficult to draw this conclusion from certain passages in these writings.³ In any case, we note that, according to Epiphanius, the identification of Adam with Christ is a typically Elkesaite doctrine.⁴

Other Ebionites say that Christ was a spirit, the first creation. He was Lord of the angels. He entered into Adam, appeared to the

¹ The commandment to marry we also find in *Hom., ep. Clem. ad. Jac.* 7 1 and 2, *Hom.* III 26 4 and III 68 1.

² He refers to Pseudo-Clemens, *Epistula ad Virgines*.

³ See Schoeps, *Theologie* ..., p. 463, and G. Strecker, *o.c.*, p. 148: "Beider (scil. Christus and Adam) Aufgaben sind so in eins gesetzt, dass Adam und Jesus vertauschbar sind, sie sind als 'wahre Prophet' identisch: H III 17-19; H. VIII 10; R. V 9". Cf. also Marius Victorinus, *ad Gal.* 1 15, saying about the Symmachians: *dicunt enim ipsum Adam esse et esse animam generalem*.

⁴ See 53 1 8, see also p. 64.

Patriarchs in bodily form, and finally again assumed the form of Adam and in this guise appeared to mankind. He was crucified and returned "on high". Here we find certain similarities with passages in Pseudo-Clementine literature.¹ The idea of Christ appearing to the Patriarchs is very ancient and can already be found in the writings of Justin Martyr.²

Finally, some Ebionites say that Jesus was a man on whom Christ descended. This idea is found several times in various forms in Epiphanius' description of the Ebionites. In 30 14 2 he writes that Christ descended upon Jesus in the form of a dove. In 30 16 3 he repeats this but adds Jesus was called Son of God by election. In 30 18 5 he says that he was so called because of his progress in virtue. This Christology agrees with that preached by the Cerinthians.³ Epiphanius was able to ascribe a Cerinthian Christology to the Ebionites because he knew that in the Gospel of the Ebionites it was written that at Jesus' baptism a dove descended and a voice was heard saying: "Today I have begotten you" (30 13 7, cf. 30 14 4).

In 30 16 4 we read that Jesus was created as one of the archangels, and that he reigns over all creation. This idea is taken from the "*Grundschrift*". In Pseudo-Clementine writings we find the same idea.⁴ We also find there that two aeons exist, one of Christ and the other of the devil (30 16 2).⁵

The idea that Christ is the prophet of truth is found in the Pseudo-Clementines.⁶ When, finally, it is said that Jesus is of "immense size", we can point to a parallel in the traditions about Elxai (30 17 6).⁷

From this it appears that Epiphanius' account of Ebionite Christology depends on four sources: traditions about the Ebionites found in Irenaeus; the "*Grundschrift*" and the Gospel, both of which he assumes to be Ebionite but influenced by Elxai; and traditions about Elxai, important because of his supposed influence.

¹ Christ appeared to Abraham: *Rec.* I 53. He is the Lord of All: *Hom.* III 20 3. He is the sovereign of the angels: *Rec.* II 42 5.

² See *Dial. c. Tryph.* LXI 1 and LVI, cf. *Hom.* III 20 2.

³ See Irenaeus I 26 1, Hippolytus, *Ref.* VII 33 and X 21, Epiphanius 28 1 5. The idea that Jesus became the son of God when he was baptized is also found in *Rec.* I 48. Eusebius writes that Jesus was elected because of his virtues, according to the Ebionites, *hist. eccl.* III 27 2.

⁴ See *Rec.* II 42 5.

⁵ See *Rec.* I 24 5 and *Hom.* XX 2 2.

⁶ In Pseudo Clementines *passim*.

⁷ Hippolytus, *Ref.* IX 13 2-3 (referring to the Son of God and the Holy Spirit) and Epiphanius, *Pan.* 53 1 9 (about Christ and the Spirit).

In 30 2 2 Epiphanius writes that the Ebionites adhered to Judaism and lived according to the Law, which means that they kept the Sabbath and practised circumcision. Circumcision is mentioned several times. In 30 17 5 he says that the Ebionites learned about circumcision, the Sabbath and other observances from Ebion but from Elxai the *phantasia*. In 30 26 1-3 he says that the Ebionites defend the practice of circumcision because Jesus had been circumcised, and they add that a disciple is no greater than his master.¹

This means that Epiphanius believed that circumcision was an original Ebionite practice. Epiphanius adduces as an argument against circumcision the fact that many other people were circumcised (30 33 3). The same information about circumcision is found in Pseudo-Clementine literature, but here it is merely said that others learnt this custom from the Israelites.² This passage may not have been present in the "*Grundschrift*", for the observation is also found in other sources.³

We have already mentioned the obligation to marry. Epiphanius supposes that this was not an original part of Ebionite teaching, "on account of James".⁴ He says that here he is dependent on the *Periodoi Petrou* (30 15 1-2). In 30 18 2 he again mentions marriage. He believes that the obligation applied not only to a first marriage but also to divorced persons, who must marry up to seven times. This rule cannot be found in the Pseudo-Clementine books but may have been taken from the New Testament (Matth. 22, 25).

We have already mentioned the ablutions. They are supposed to belong to the original Ebionite code. In 30 15 3 Epiphanius quotes the *Periodoi Petrou* to show that Peter purified himself daily.⁵

From 30 15 3 we gather that Epiphanius claims that the Ebionites forbade the eating of meat. The source for this too is to be found in the *Periodoi* because we find the same idea in the Pseudo-Clementine books.⁶ It is noteworthy that Epiphanius writes that they justified this prohibition by their abhorrence of "mixing bodies" (30 15 4).

¹ See Pseudo-Tertullian and Epiphanius writing about Cerinthus, p. 23, n. 2.

² *Rec.* I 33 3-5 and VIII 53 2.

³ Cf. Origen, *c. Cels.* I 22; V 41 and 48, and Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* VI 11.

⁴ See p. 33. See for Epiphanius and the commandment to marry as taught by the Elkesaites 19 1 7.

⁵ See *Hom.* X 1 and XI 1 1, *Rec.* IV 3 1; V 36 3 and VIII 11.

⁶ See *Hom.* VIII 15 4 and XII 6 4, *Rec.* VII 6 4. See for the rejection of meat among the Nasaraeans 18 1 4 and Elkesaites 53 1 4.

This is a well known argument,¹ but it appears to be incompatible with their conceptions about marriage. Therefore it is inconceivable that this tenet was taken from the "*Grundschrift*".

Epiphanius used two sources for what he tells us about the rejection of sacrifices. First he quotes the so-called "Gospel of the Ebionites", according to which Jesus said: "I have come to abolish the sacrifices and if the offerings do not cease the wrath will not cease" (30 16 5). Secondly, the "*Grundschrift*" also spoke of the rejection of sacrifices.²

There is a remarkable agreement between the Elkesaites and the Pseudo-Clementines with regard to the form of their oaths.³ This practice also is considered by Epiphanius to be Ebionite (30 17 4).

He mentions the Ebionite baptism but does not give any details (30 16 1). He says that the Eucharist is celebrated in the same way as in the orthodox church, which means every year, but with unleavened bread and with water (30 16 1).⁴ The use of water is common among the Marcionites,⁵ Tatian,⁶ the Encratites⁷ and the Apostolici.⁸ We do not know Epiphanius' source for this statement.⁹

He tells us that the Ebionites rejected Elia, David, Samson and all the prophets (30 15 2). In 30 18 4 he says that they accept none of the prophets and reject David, Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezechiel, Elia and Elisa. In 30 18 9 he repeats the same about Samson, David, Elijah, Samuel, Elisha and others. Epiphanius writes that his source here is the *Periodoi Petrou* (30 15 2). In 30 18 5 he writes that this rejection was prompted by their belief that Christ was the only true prophet and the other prophets "of intelligence" only (*συνέσεως*). Moreover, the Ebionites were convinced that Christ himself revealed truths (30 18 9).¹⁰

¹ Cf. Porphyrius, *de abst.* IV 20.

² See *Hom.* III 56 4; III 26 3; *Rec.* I 37 and 39. The sacrifices were rejected by the Nasaraeans, 18 1 4, and the Elkesaites, 19 3 6, according to Epiphanius.

³ See *Hom.*, *Diamart.* 2 1 and 4 1, Hippolytus, *Ref.* IX 15, Epiphanius 19 1 6; 19 6 4; 30 17 4. See also p. 57, n. 3.

⁴ According to Irenaeus the Ebionites celebrated the eucharist with water, V 1 3. According to Origen with unleavened bread, in *Matth. comm. ser.* 79.

⁵ 42 3 3.

⁶ 46 2 3.

⁷ 47 1 7.

⁸ 61 1 2.

⁹ But cf. Irenaeus V 1 3. Information about baptism and eucharist in the Pseudo-Clementines: Strecker, *o.c.*, p. 196-209 and 209-213.

¹⁰ See for revelations: *Hom.* XVIII 6.

The Pseudo-Clementines do not record a total rejection of kings and prophets,¹ but a critical attitude cannot be denied.²

Epiphanius writes that the Ebionites rejected certain parts of the Pentateuch. Here we are dealing with the so-called "false pericopes" which are mentioned in the Pseudo-Clementine books.³ It is interesting to see that Epiphanius refers to the Ebionite argument: "What need is there for me to read what is in the Law now that the Gospel has come?" (30 18 7). This quotation may be taken from the "*Grundschrift*"⁴ but it might also have been taken from the Gospel of the Ebionites.

Epiphanius clearly states that they reject Paul. A story about Paul wishing to marry the daughter of a Jewish priest and for this reason submitting to circumcision was taken from an unknown source (30 16 8-9).⁵

We may therefore conclude that Epiphanius used a number of sources. Initially he followed Irenaeus, Pseudo-Tertullian and Eusebius, but here he found little more than the belief that Jesus was the son of Joseph and the statement that the Ebionites obeyed the Law and rejected Paul. Finally he learnt from Eusebius that the Ebionites lived in Kochaba.

But Epiphanius was acquainted with a number of books; a Gospel, the *Periodoi Petrou* and the *Anabathmoi Jakobou*. He recognised these writings as Jewish-Christian, but their contents differed from what was known of the characteristic Ebionite teaching. The similarity between the traditions about Elxai and some of his literary sources caused him to assume that Elxai influenced the development of the Ebionite doctrines.⁶

¹ Cf. Schoeps, *Theologie* ..., p. 467: "Die von Epiphanius behauptete totale Verwerfung der Propheten ... ist eine grundlose Übertreibung ..." See also Methodius, *symposion* VIII 20: Ἐβριωνᾶι, ἐξ ἰδίας κινήσεως τοὺς προφήτας φιλονεικοῦντες λελαληκέναι. The passage may be part of an interpolation, see H. Musurillo, *St. Methodius, The Symposion*, London 1958, p. 223-224. Cf. also Pseudo-Hieronymus, *Indic. de haer.* X: ... habuisse autem illum (scil. Christum) spiritum prophetalem ...

² Cf. with regard to prophets, *Hom.* II 15 4; II 17 4 and III 53, and kings, III 24 2 and III 52 1. Cf. also Epiphanius 53 1 7 speaking about the Sampsaeans. See Strecker, *o.c.*, p. 175-179 (prophets) and 184-187 (kings).

³ See *Hom.* II 41 1-3 and 51 2; III 50 1 and 53 3.

⁴ For Jesus as interpreter of the scriptures: *Hom.* III 49-50, cf. 49 3: λέγει τοῖνυν πῶς ἡμᾶς διακρίνει τὰς γραφὰς ἐδίδαξεν.

⁵ See for anti-Paulinism in the Pseudo-Clementines: Strecker, *o.c.*, p. 187-196.

⁶ See G. Strecker, *Elkesai*, in: *Reallex. f. Ant. u. Christ.*, Bd. IV, c. 1175-1176: "Der Kirchenvater begründet sie (scil. relation between Ebionites and Elxai) an zwei Stellen:

The similarity between the sources and what was known about Elxai includes a Christological concept according to which Christ appeared at different times and in the guise of different persons,¹ the rejection of Paul,² the use of specific oaths³ and daily purifications.⁴

It would be most helpful if we knew how it was that Epiphanius came across these writings. Are they really the products of one single sect known to Epiphanius, or did he discover them in one or more libraries? In trying to answer these questions we may begin by saying that we do not get the impression that he personally knew the group of Jewish Christians about whom he was writing. His rather vague remarks about their baptism and eucharist, their synagogue, presbyters and archisynagogues (30 18 2) might be the result of some superficial knowledge. We may even accept that the story of Paul wishing to marry the daughter of a Jewish priest might have come to him by way of rumours which were rife in Jewish-Christian circles in his own time. But almost all he wrote about the Ebionites was drawn from written sources.⁵

For this reason we cannot learn from him anything about the relationship between the Ebionites, as described by Irenaeus, Origen and Eusebius, and the Jewish-Christians represented by writings such as the *Periodoi Petrou*. These writings themselves must be examined for information about the group which produced them.⁶

Nach 303 1-6 hat sich die ebionitische Christologie unter dem Einfluss. E.s. gewandelt, indem sie die Theorie vom Gestaltwandel des Adam-Christus übernahm. Epiphanius wurde zu dieser These offensichtlich durch die Tatsache veranlasst, dass er in der pseudo-klementinischen Grundschrift ein judenchristliches Gestaltwandelmotiv vorfand ...".

¹ Hippolytus, *Ref.* IX 14 1 and X 29 2.

² Eusebius VI 38.

³ Hippolytus *Ref.* IX 15 2 and 5.

⁴ Hippolytus, *Ref.* IX 13 4 and 15 4.

⁵ Lipsius, *o.c.*, p. 149: "Jedenfalls hat Epiphanius bei seinen Schilderungen haer 30 (aber auch haer. 18,19 und 53) Vieles aus der mündlichen Überlieferung geschöpft ...". E. Schwartz, *Unzeitgemässe Beobachtungen zu den Clementinen*, in: *Zeitschr.f.d. neuest. Wissensch.* 31 1932, p. 151-199, p. 196, wrote about Epiphanius' knowledge being the result of a "Lese Frucht", a "Zusammenklitterung der Clementinen mit den Ebionäern" and "eine unwirkliche Konstruktion". Schoeps, *Theologie ...*, p. 18-19, does not exclude any oral tradition.

⁶ Strecker, *Judenchristentum ...*, p. 265-266, n. 1: "... das heisst aber, dass Epiphanius' Darstellung für sich genommen wertlos ist, und bevor sie wissenschaftliche Verwertung finden könnte, einer den neuen Editionen folgenden Analyse unterzogen werden müsste".

Anacephalaiosis

The *Anacephalaiosis* is dependent on Epiphanius. It differs from him in stating that the Ebionites used "Gospels". In this he may be influenced by Eusebius who probably suggested that the Ebionites used also the canonical Gospels.¹ But since there is no sign of any other dependence on Eusebius we can better explain the plural form ("Gospels") by concluding that Epiphanius was referring to more than one Ebionite book.²

Jerome

Jerome writes about the Ebionites in the most general terms. In some passages he speaks about them in connection with other heretics (*de perp. virg.* 17, *adv. Luc.* 23, *in Tit.* 3, 10-11). In *adv. Luc.* we detect the influence of Pseudo-Tertullian because here Ebion is called the *successor* of Cerinthus. Elsewhere Ebion and Cerinthus are mentioned as typical representatives of Christians who confused the Law and the Gospel (*epist.* CXII 13).³ He supposed Ebion to have lived at the time of John the Apostle (*adv. Luc.* 23, *Matth. Prol.*) who refuted him because he did not believe that Jesus existed before Mary (*de vir. ill.* IX).⁴

Jerome seems to have considered the Ebionites to be Jews. They were called *semi-Judaei* (*in Gal.* 3, 13-14).⁵ They practised circumcision (*in Ez.* 44, 6, *in Gal.* 5, 3), lived according to the Law (*in Es.* 1, 12), had Jewish ceremonies (*in Is.* 1,3, cf. *epist.* CXII 16) and, still according to Jerome, looked forward to the Millenium (*in Es.* 66, 20).

Paul was rejected by the Ebionites (*in Matth.* 12, 2). They showed a poverty of spirit (*in Es.* 1,3 and 66,20).⁶ Ebion is mentioned together

¹ See III 27 4.

² See 30 23 1-2. Dependent on *Anacephalaiosis* are John Damascene, *de haer.* 30 and Theodor bar-Khonai.

³ Cf. the same expression in Paschasius Radbertus, *exp. in Matth.* V 9.

⁴ Cf. Eusebius III 27 3.

⁵ Cf. the same expression in Honorius Augustodunensis, *de haer. lib.* LII, Isidorus of Seville, *etym. lib.* VIII VI 37, and Paulus, *de haer. lib.* IV.

⁶ Cf. *in Es.* 1, 3 *pro humilitate sensus, paupertate nomine sui* and 66, 20 *qui pro humilitate sensus nomen pauperum susceperunt*, with Eusebius III 27 1: 'Εβιωναῖοι ... πτωχὸς καὶ ταπεινὸς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοξάζοντας.

with Photinus (*in Gal.* 1,1; 1, 11 and 12, *de vir. ill.* CVII)¹. Theodotion is supposed by some orthodox Christians to have been an Ebionite; Symmachus certainly belonged to this group (*de vir. ill.* LIV). Jerome's remarks on Symmachus will be dealt with in the chapter about the Symmachians.

Two of Jerome's remarks are not quite clear. He thinks that Ebion made his own translation of the Old Testament (*in Gal.* 3, 13-14). He may have confused Symmachus and Ebion in this passage. He also speaks about the baptism of Ebion (*adv. Luc.* 26) of which we have no other information.

Finally we must mention a passage in his Letters which definitely proves that he had no personal knowledge of the Ebionites. He writes that Ebion had been cursed by the Fathers because he had confused the Law and the Gospel. He goes on to say: "What shall I say of the Ebionites who claim to be Christians? Until now a heresy is to be found in all parts of the East where Jews have their synagogues; it is called "of the Minaeans" ... These are usually named Nazoraeans" (*epist.* CXII 13). This shows that Jerome knew only one Jewish-Christian heresy by name, that of the Nazoraeans.

Filaster

Filaster, *haer.* XXXVII, writes that Ebion was a disciple of Cerinthus. This statement may be compared with Pseudo-Tertullian's remark that Ebion was Cerinthus' successor. Nevertheless, the general content of the sentence shows so great a similarity to Epiphanius² that we doubt whether he is really dependent on Pseudo-Tertullian.

Filaster writes that Jesus, like all the prophets, could claim to enjoy God's favour. He may have taken this from Epiphanius who stated that Jesus was the true prophet, according to the Ebionites.³

¹ Photinus is considered to have been a restorer of the Ebionite heresy, cf. Jerome, *in Eph.* 4, 10, *in Gal.* 1, 1 and 1, 11 and 17, see also *de vir. ill.* CVII. The same is found in Paulus, *de haer. lib.* XXXV, Isidorus of Seville, *etym. lib.* VIII VI 38, Gennadius Massiliensis, *de eccl. dogm.* XXII (LII), Ambrosius, *de fide* V 8 105, Pseudo-Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai* LXVIII, Marius Mercator, *app. ad contrad.* XII *anath.* Nest. 14-15 and 13, calling Ebion a Stoic philosopher, and Cassiodorus, *hist. eccl. tripart.* IX 16 V. Hilarius, *de trin.* VII 3 and 7 seems to identify Ebion and Photinus.

² See Epiphanius 30 11 3 and 30 2 1.

³ 30 18 5.

Finally he said that the Ebionites did not believe that the son of God the Father was co-eternal with the Father. This may show a dependence on Eusebius, who wrote that the Ebionites denied that Christ was the first-born of the Father.

All this goes to show a compilation of existing information about the Ebionites. Obviously Filaster had no fresh information about them.

Augustine

Augustine writes in *adv. Haer.* 10 that the Ebionites believed Christ to have been a man. He says they lived according to the Law. In other respects he seems to be dependent on Epiphanius,¹ whom he quotes when he says that the Ebionites were connected with the Sampsaeans and the Elkesaites. He adds that Epiphanius deals with these two groups separately. This refers to *Panarion* 30 3 2, where it is said that the Ebionites followed the teaching of Elxai, and chapter 53, where Epiphanius writes about the Sampsaeans. Finally, he writes that the Elkesaites were allowed to abjure their faith. This was taken from Eusebius.²

Theodoret

Theodoret, *haer. fab.* II, 1, shows remarkable agreement with Eusebius.³ He also quotes from Irenaeus when he says that the "Un-born" was the creator of the world. The saying that Jesus, the son of Joseph and Mary, surpassed all other men in virtues is taken from Eusebius, and the same is true of his remark that the Ebionites used the "Gospel of the Hebrews" and that Symmachus was an Ebionite. He also took from Eusebius the information about the two groups of Ebionites.

Theodoret writes that the second group, which believed in the Virgin Birth, used the Gospel of Matthew. In this he differs from Eusebius who says that this group used the "Gospel of the Hebrews". He does not mention a Gospel used by the first group.

¹ From *epist.* CXVI 16 1 written to Jerome one receives the impression that Augustine does not distinguish between Ebionites and Nazoraeans. He also supposes it a heresy of the past.

² See VI 38. *Praedestinatus* I 10 depends on Augustine, *adv. Haer.*

³ Eusebius, *hist. eccl.* III 27 1-6.

Like Eusebius, Theodoret identified the group accepting the Virgin Birth with the Ebionites about whom Irenaeus wrote, because these did not hold the same beliefs about Jesus as the Cerinthians, who thought Jesus was the son of Mary. Irenaeus wrote that these Ebionites used the Gospel of Matthew, which explains Theodoret's remark. Unlike Eusebius, he did not link Irenaeus' reference to Matthew with Origen's remarks about the "Gospel of the Hebrews",¹ but attributes the one Gospel to the first group and the other to the second.

This means that Theodoret depends on both Irenaeus and Eusebius.²

Timothy

Timothy, *de recept. haer.* (c. 28B/C), depends initially on Eusebius. Then, in agreement with Epiphanius,³ he writes about Jesus being the elected son of God, and about the prohibition of meat foods, referring to the Ebionites' abhorrence of "mixing bodies".⁴

Conclusion

Irenaeus gives a great deal of information about the Ebionites. We find some of this again in later authors. It is repeatedly said that Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary, that the Ebionites obeyed the Law and submitted to circumcision. But remarks on the interpretation of the prophets and about prayers being said while facing in the direction of Jerusalem are not mentioned again in connection with the Ebionites.⁵ It is not known from what source Irenaeus received this information.

Tertullian is the first to mention the name Ebion. Otherwise, he adds nothing more to what Irenaeus had already said. He suggests that John and Paul opposed the Ebionites in their writings. Hippolytus adds nothing more to what Irenaeus has already said. Origen emphasised their desire to imitate Jesus, this assertion being found also in

¹ See p. 26.

² Theodoret also mentions the Ebionites in *haer. fab., praef.*, II 11 and V 11 and *eccl. hist.* V 11 3 and I 4 35.

³ See Epiphanius 30 16 3.

⁴ 30 15 3-4.

⁵ Epiphanius, in connection with the Ossaeans, writes about the practice as being Elkesaite, 19 3 5-6.

Pseudo-Tertullian. He also speaks about the two different groups. Eusebius says that they lived in Chooba or Kochaba.

Epiphanius is dependent on his predecessors but he completes their information with the contents of a number of writings which he supposes to be Ebionite. These are very important but must be investigated on their own merits without connecting them *a priori* with Jewish Christian groups mentioned by Irenaeus and Origen.

Irenaeus, Origen and Epiphanius may have had some personal contact with the Ebionites or Jewish-Christians who were called Ebionites. Therefore we may conclude that Ebionites lived in Egypt. But is Origen writing about the same group as Irenaeus? Although they show the same characteristics, the Ebionites about whom Irenaeus is writing were most probably living in Rome. We do not know from what source Epiphanius received the *Periodoi Petrou* and the other books. We may presume that they came from the regions to the east of the river Jordan. Epiphanius was well aware of the differences between the classical accounts of the Ebionites' beliefs and customs and the contents of the writings he had come across.

Epiphanius starts from the mistaken assumption that everything Jewish-Christian must be called Ebionite and must have originated in the same group. This mistake is made by all orthodox members of the Church. Starting from this assumption, Epiphanius tries to explain the differences between his sources. For this reason he introduces Elxai, who he says exercised a great influence over the Ebionites. When we say that Epiphanius starts from the wrong angle this does not mean that we may ignore the similarities existing between Elxai and the Pseudo-Clementines on the one hand and the traditional descriptions of the Ebionites on the other.

Finally we may say that the Ebionites became gradually known chiefly as a sect that denied the Virgin Birth or, more simply, as a sect that lived according to the Jewish Law.¹ When they no longer existed they were still held up as a warning to later generations.²

¹ See Isidorus of Seville, *de haer.* IX, Praedestinatus I 10, Rufinus, *comm. in symb. apost.* 39, Honorius Augustodunensis, *de haer.* LIII, Paschasius Radbertus, *exp. in Matth.* V 9.

² See Pseudo-Tertullian, *Carmen ad Marc.* I, *Apost. Constit.* VI 6, *Chronicon Paschale*, Hilarius, *de trin.* I 26, II 4 and 23, Gennadius Massiliensis, *de eccl. dogm.* II, Nestorian History XXXV, Ignatius, *Philad.* VI (long recension), Cassianus, *de inc. Dom.* I 2, III 5 and V 10, Cassiodorus, *hist. eccl. tripart.* I 14 and Alexander of Alexandria, *epist.* IX.

NAZORAEANS

Epiphanius

As far as we know, Epiphanius was the first writer to mention the Jewish-Christian sect of the Nazoraeans.

From his *Panarion* 29 1 1 we learn that the Nazoraeans were supposed to have lived in the earliest times of Christianity. He says that he does not know whether they originated before the Cerinthians, with them or after them. Since, according to Epiphanius, the Cerinthians already existed in Apostolic times, he suggests that the Nazoraeans also lived at that time. This supposition is corroborated in 29 5 4 where Epiphanius states that the Nazoraeans originated when followers of the Apostles left the Church after the Ascension. In this connection he writes that they were Jews, lived according to the Law and practised circumcision.

It is clear that Epiphanius has a certain difficulty to face. He is aware of a tradition about a Jewish-Christian sect of "Nazoraeans", but he is also aware of the well known fact that initially all Christians were known by that name (29 1 3 and 29 6 2).¹ He admits that the Jewish-Christians and the early Christians bore the same name. For this reason Paul could be addressed as "leader of the heresy of the Nazoraeans" (29 6 3). Paul did not deal with this misunderstanding, according to Epiphanius, but the difference between the two groups is that the Jewish-Christians gave this name to themselves (29 1 2 and 29 5 6).²

In 29 7 7-8 we find a remark on the origin of the sect which differs from that mentioned above. Here he writes that the origin of the Nazoraeans must be sought in Perea among the Christians who left Jerusalem before its capture in 70 A.D. In this connection he adds that the Nazoraeans lived in Beroia, Pella and Kochaba.

The presence of Nazoraeans in Pella is also mentioned in 30 2 8 where he says that the Ebionites originated in the sect of the Nazorae-

¹ Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* IV 8 and Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. de Lagarde 285, 37-38.

² Since the name of the Nazoraeans has been identified with the name of the group called *Ναζωραῖοι* in Acts 24, 5, it is evident that the spelling of this name is the same as that found in different languages and editions of the New Testament. This means that in Greek we always read *Ναζωραῖος* and in Latin *Nazarenus*, *Nazarenus*, *Nazaraeus* and *Nazareus* (cf. Matth. 2, 23 in the Vulgate). Theodor bar-Khoni follows the spelling of the Peshitto ܢܙܪܝܐ. See also K. Rudolph, *Die Mandäer*, I Göttingen 1900, p. 112-117.

ans.¹ Obviously Epiphanius arrives at this different conclusion about their origin because he knows from some source about their dwelling place.

His remarks on their dwelling place are somewhat strange. Pella and Kochaba are cities to the east of the river Jordan. Pella is mentioned, according to traditions known to Epiphanius also, in connection with the departure of Christians from Jerusalem before the fall of the city.² Beroia, moreover, is far away from these two cities and, to our knowledge, never mentioned in connection with Jewish Christians. Since Jerome, apparently independently of Epiphanius, also speaks of Beroia as a centre for Nazoraeans,³ we assume that Epiphanius was basing his assertion on reliable traditions. However, we admit that his mention on Pella and Kochaba as dwelling places of Nazoraeans is the result of his trying to reconcile differing traditions. It was easy for him to draw the conclusion that Jewish-Christians living in Beroia reached that city by way of Pella as they came from Jerusalem.⁴

This means that the different traditions about Jewish-Christians gave rise to conflicting conclusions with regard to the origins of the Nazoraeans. On the one hand he assumes that they lived in Jerusalem before 70 A.D. and on the other hand he supposes that they originated among Christians who left the city before its fall. It was impossible for Epiphanius to reconcile these conclusions by supposing that an already existing Jewish-Christian sect left Jerusalem before 70 A.D., since the traditional account of this event spoke of a revelation given by Christ,⁵ and this revelation would not have been given to heretics.

Epiphanius compares the ideas of the Nazoraeans with those of the Cerinthians. He writes that, unlike the Cerinthians, the Nazoraeans accepted the Old Testament. But he insists that they were Jews who

¹ Cf. 40 1 5: (Κοκαβη) ἔνθα αἱ τῶν Ἑβρωναίων τε καὶ Ναζωραίων ρίζαι ἐνήργησαντο ... See also 19 5 4.

² See about Pella: Eusebius III 5 2-3 and Kokabe, p. 27.

³ Jerome, *de vir. ill.* III 1.

⁴ Cf. A. Schmidtke, *Neue Fragmente* ..., p. 104: "Es ist ein festes, durch keine Einwände zu erschütterndes Ergebnis, dass die Angaben des Epiphanius über die Entstehung und die Siedelungsstätten der Nazoräer im transjordanensischen Lande samt und sonders aus haltlosen Combinationen bestehen und einfach zu ignorieren sind", and E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* I, p. 252, n. 1.: "... damit (scil. Beroia) verbindet er fälschlich die in Wirklichkeit von den Ebioniten geltende Angabe, sie hätten auch in der Dekapolis bei Pella und in dem Orte Kokabe in Basanitis gesessen ...".

⁵ Eusebius III 5 3 and Epiphanius 29 7 8.

differed from other Jews because they accepted Christ (28 7 5). Their Christian beliefs may be considered orthodox as they believed in the resurrection of the dead, and they believed also that God created the world and that his "child" was Jesus the Christ.¹ Epiphanius is not sure whether they accepted the Virgin Birth (29 7 6). This is because he did not know whether a genealogy was included in the Gospel used by the Nazoraeans (29 9 4).

Epiphanius states emphatically that the Nazoraeans were well versed in the Hebrew language. They read the Old Testament and the Gospel in Hebrew (29 7 4 and 9 4). Their relation with Judaism is made clear by the fact that the Jews solemnly cursed them three times a day (29 9 2).²

According to Epiphanius they used the "Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew". Obviously he knows no more about this Gospel than that it was written in Hebrew. Since the only Gospel written in Hebrew that he knows of is the Gospel of Matthew, he concludes that the Nazoraeans possessed this venerable book.³

To sum up: Epiphanius knew of a Jewish-Christian group called the Nazoraeans. They lived in Beroia, were of Jewish race and used the Hebrew or Aramaic language. He knows very little about them, except that they lived according to the Jewish Law and accepted some orthodox beliefs about Jesus.

Anacephalaiosis

The short note in the *Anacephalaiosis* is dependent on Epiphanius. In their turn, John Damascene, *de haer.* 29, and Theodor bar-Khoni are dependent on the *Anacephalaiosis*.

Jerome

From *de vir. ill.* III, written in 392, one might draw the conclusion that Jerome had been in personal contact with the Nazoraeans. He

¹ The sentence reads in 29 7 3: ... ἕνα δὲ θεὸν καταγγέλλουσι καὶ τὸν τούτου παῖδα Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. The word *παῖς* seems archaic, but we do not wish to exclude the possibility of the influence of Acts 3, 13, 26; 4, 27 and 30.

² See Schürer, *Gesch. des Jüd. Volkes* II⁴, p. 543-544, and Schoeps, *Theologie* ..., p. 284-285.

³ The original Aramaic version often is mentioned: Eusebius III 24 6; V 8 2, see also Irenaeus III 1 1; V 10 3; V 30 1 and VI 24 4.

says that on that occasion he received the Gospel of Matthew, written "in Hebrew lettering and words". He adds that this same Gospel is available in the Library of Caesarea. It may be that Jerome met Jewish-Christians in Beroia during his stay in Chalcis from 374 to 379.¹ This seems to be corroborated by his mentioning that he learnt Hebrew from a Jewish-Christian during these years (*epist.* CXXV 12).²

In spite of this information it is doubtful whether Jerome was personally acquainted with Jewish-Christians in Beroia, for in his writings, apart from some quotations taken from a Jewish-Christian Gospel, he gives very little information about the Nazoraeans. Moreover, the information he does give is often contradictory. In 398 he writes that the Nazoraeans believed Jesus was "the son of the carpenter" (*in Matth.* 13, 53-54). This obviously implies that they rejected the Virgin Birth. But in 404 he writes that they believed in the Virgin Birth, the Passion of Christ under Pontius Pilate and his resurrection, in spite of their being both Christian and Jewish (*epist.* CXII 13).³ This contradiction with regard to such a central point means that Jerome's knowledge of the Nazoraeans was negligible.

However, his remarks on the Gospel suggest further comments. As we have already said, Jerome wrote in 392 that he copied the Gospel of Matthew, written in Hebrew characters. Speaking elsewhere (*in Eph.* 5,4 and *in Matth.* 6,11) about the Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew, he is undoubtedly referring to the same Gospel. But in 398 he is not sure whether the Gospel in question is really identical with the Gospel of Matthew (*in Matth.* 12, 13, cf. also *adv. Pel.* III 2 from 415). This means that he must have had only a superficial knowledge of its contents. This is possible if we suppose that his copying the Gospel resulted in only a slight knowledge of its contents, which is understandable if he knew very little of the Hebrew language at that time.

But the problem cannot be solved in that way. It appears that in the year 391, that is, at the very time when he identified the Gospel

¹ Zahn, *Gesch. des neutest. Kanons* II II, p. 648, n. 22, and Bardenhewer, *Gesch. der altchristl. Lit.* III, p. 606.

² See H. Waitz, *Neue Untersuchungen über die sogen. judenchristlichen Evangelien*, in: *Zeitschr. f. d. neutest. Wissensch.* 36 1937, p. 60-81, p. 63.

³ See also *in Ez.* 16, 16 (410/15) in which it is said that they bring together the law and grace. G. Bardy, *Saint Jérôme et l'Évangile selon les Hébreux*, in *Mélanges de Science Relig.* 3 1964, p. 5-36, p. 31, rightly states: "On peut se demander si Saint Jérôme a réellement connu ses Nazaréens".

of the Nazoraeans with the Gospel of Matthew, he wrote that he had translated the Gospel recently (*nuper*; in *Mich.* 7 6). He said the same when writing in 392 (*de vir. ill.* II and XVI) and in 398 (*in Matth.* 12, 13). If this is true, we cannot imagine that he did not know whether he was translating the Gospel of Matthew or another Gospel.

A further difficulty with regard to the value we may attach to Jerome's knowledge of this Gospel arises from his remark, written in 415, that the Gospel had been written in Chaldaean and Syriac (*adv. Pelag.* III 2) in contradiction to his earlier remark about the Hebrew language.¹

We must conclude that even if Jerome copied this Gospel he cannot have translated more than a few verses. With the help of these he was able to refer to the original Hebrew regarding passages of the New Testament which he wished to explain (cf. *in Matth.* 6, 11).²

This however does not solve the problem as to which Gospel Jerome used. First of all we have to bear in mind his identification of the Gospel of the Nazoraeans with the Gospel available in the Library at Caesarea (*de vir. ill.* III).

We may conclude from other sources that such a Gospel was indeed possessed by that Library.³ But, even if this is true, we cannot be

¹ Jerome mentions this Gospel under the name of *secundum apostolos*. It is possible that a Gospel with this name existed, since Origen, *hom.* I 1 in *Luc.* speaks about a Gospel "of the twelve". But we wish to follow Bardy, *art. c.* p. 27-28: "Conclusions dons, simplement, que Jérôme s'est trompé en identifiant l'Évangile des Douze et l'Évangile hébreu". See also p. p. 30. n. 4.

² Schmidtke, *Neue Fragmente* ..., p. 254, cannot accept that Jerome translated the Gospel: "Diese 'nuper' ist das 'jüngst', mit dem Aufschneider ihre Geschichtchen beginnen". Also Bardy, *art. c.*, p. 34: "Non seulement il n'a pas traduit, mais il ne l'a lu que d'un regard distrait, si même il l'a lu en entier", and Vielhauer, in: Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentl. Apokryphen*, p. 86: "Es ist daher weitgehend anerkannt, dass Hieron. das Evangelium der Nazaräer nicht übersetzt hat". But see also M.-J. Lagrange, *L'Évangile selon les Hébreux*, in: *Revue Bibl.* 31 1922, p. 161-181 and 321-349, p. 343: "D'ailleurs nous ne prétendons pas qu'il ait réellement transcrit dès cette époque (in Chalcis) l'évangile araméen, et quand il dit l'avait traduit en grec et latin, admettons pour le moment qu'on puisse l'entendre d'extraits des passages divergents", the same opinion: Meyer, *Anfang und Ursprünge* ... I, p. 260-261: "Dass das (scil. translation of the Gospel of the Hebrews) einfach erfunden sei ... wird schwerlich zutreffend sein ...". It may be that he translated "einzelne Stellen".

³ Eusebius, *Theoph.* IV 12, and Mai, *Nova Patr. Bibl.* IV 1, 155, speaks about a "Gospel in Hebrew". It was probably available in the library of Caesarea. Hegesippus quoted a Gospel in Syriac, cf. Eusebius IV 22 8. See, for the identification of the Gospel used by Hegesippus, the Gospel mentioned by Eusebius and the Gospel of the Nazoraeans,

sure that this Gospel is really the same as the Gospel of the Nazoraeans. We must add that since Jerome accepted this identity he possibly quoted the Caesarean Gospel in the belief that he was using the Gospel of the Nazoraeans.¹

Furthermore, Jerome identified the Gospel of the Nazoraeans with the "Gospel of the Hebrews" known to Origen (*de vir. ill.* II, cf. also in *Matth.* 12, 13). Thus he availed himself of the opportunity of quoting the "Gospel of the Hebrews" which he found in Origen's writings and claimed that he was quoting from the Gospel of the Nazoraeans.²

We may therefore be dealing with three Gospels, one in Caesarea, one "of the Nazoraeans" and one "of the Hebrews", but more probably there were two only, the Nazoraean which is also to be found in Caesarea, and the "Gospel of the Hebrews". So it is necessary to examine every quotation given by Jerome in order to decide from which Gospel it was taken.³ By far the most important are Jerome's quotations taken from a Nazoraean interpretation of the prophet Isaiah (in *Es.* 8, 14; 8, 19-22; 8, 23-9, 3; 29, 20-21 and 31, 6-9).⁴ From these

Vielhauer, in: Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentl. Apokryphen*, p. 85, and p. 27 of this work.

¹ Cf. Schmidtke, *Neue Fragmente* ..., p. 66: "An sich könnte er nun seine NE-Zitate je dem Exemplare entnommen haben, das er in der Cäsariensis gesehen hatte". The same suggestion in Bardy, *art. c.*, p. 35, and Vielhauer, in: Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, p. 86.

² Schmidtke, *Neue Fragmente* ..., p. 255, supposed that Jerome depended on Origen, Apollinaris and Eusebius. Bardy, *art. c.*, recognized the dependency on Origen, but doubted whether he was dependent on Apollinaris, p. 29-30.

³ For criteria to enable us to discover in which cases Jerome depends on the Gospel of the Nazoraeans and in which cases on the Gospel of the Hebrews, see Vielhauer, in: Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, p. 86-87. Students of Jewish-Christian Gospels must start with Schmidtke, *Neue Fragmente*, written in 1911. He discovered that the Gospel of the Nazoraeans is an Aramaic Gospel. Schmidtke, *Zum Hebräerevangelium*, in: *Zeitschr. f.d. neutestamentl. Wissensch.* 35 1936, p. 24-44, and Meyer, *Anfang und Ursprunge* ... I, p. 261, identified the Gospel of the Ebionites with the Gospel of the Hebrews. Lagrange, *L'Évangile selon les Hébreux* ..., identified the Gospel of the Nazoraeans with the Gospel of the Hebrews. Waitz, *Neue Untersuchungen* ..., rightly distinguished between the Gospel of the Nazoraeans, the Gospel of the Hebrews and the Gospel of the Ebionites. H. Waitz, *Das Evangelium der Zwölf Apostel*, in: *Zeitschr. f.d. neutestamentl. Wissensch.* 13 1912, p. 338-348, introduced the unnecessary identification of the Gospel of the Ebionites with the Gospel of the twelve. Vielhauer, in: Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, also accepts three Jewish Christian Gospels.

⁴ See A. F. J. Klijn, *Jerome's Quotations from a Nazoraean Interpretation of Isaiah*, in: *Recherches de Science Relig.* 60 1972, p. 241-255. Jerome also mentions a Nazoraean

it appears that the Nazoraeans lived according to the Jewish Law, but that they accepted Paul as an apostle to the Gentiles. They did not reject the Jewish people but supposed them to be deceived by "Scribes and Pharisees".

The remarks on the Nazoraeans in Epiphanius and Jerome can be taken together to form a picture of this Jewish-Christian sect.¹ We are speaking of a Syriac or Aramaic speaking group of Jewish descent. They lived according to the Jewish Law but accepted the virgin birth and Paul. They used an Aramaic or Syriac Gospel, possibly the same as that Gospel mentioned by Eusebius which was in the Library at Caesarea. If we identify this Gospel with that used by Hegesippus we may conclude that these Nazoraeans originated among Christians living in Palestine at a very early date.²

Augustine

About the year 400 Augustine wrote about the Nazoraeans in his *contra Faust.* and *de baptisate*. Of some significance is the passage in *contra Faust.* XIX 17 which reads: "They are those mentioned by Faustus under the name of Symmachians or Nazoraeans". This means that Faustus was speaking about Jewish-Christians, but it is not clear whether he called them Symmachians or Nazoraeans, or used both these names. From *contra Faust.* XIX 4 we may conclude that he probably used the name Symmachians because in this passage Augustine mentions the Nazoraeans and adds the words: "whom others call Symmachians". In *contra Crescon.* I 31 Augustine speaks again about the Nazoraeans "whom others call Symmachians". In *de bapt.* VII 1 Augustine

Apocryphon of Jeremiah in *in Matth.* 27, 9-10, see Harnack, *Gesch. der altchristl. Lit.* II 1, p. 579.

¹ On Jerome depends Paschasius Radbertus, *exp. in ev. Matth.* II 2. His explanation of the word *Nazarenus* as being *sanctitas* depends on Jerome, *liber interpr. hebr. nom.* 70 12. His remark that the Nazoraeans wish to link the old with the new also originated in Jerome, in *Ez.* 16,16 and *epist.* CXII 13.

² See Schmidtke, *Neue Fragmente* ..., p. 125: "Demnach sind die Nazaräer nicht anders zu bestimmen denn als der späterhin abgesonderte judenchristliche Teil der ursprüngliche gleich der Gemeinde von Antiochen (Gal. 2) aus geborenen Juden und Heiden gemischten Gemeinde von Beröa. Diese Christen jüdischen Volkes waren durch die Verhältnisse dazu gedrängt worden, sich zu einem eigenen Verein zusammenzutun, indem sie ungestörter die alte nationale Sitte pflegen konnten".

speaks about Jewish Christians who gave themselves the name Nazoraeans.¹

Augustine appears to know the name of these Jewish-Christians but does not show that he had had any personal acquaintance with them. He indicates a group of Christians with characteristic Jewish beliefs: they submit to circumcision (*de bapt.* VII 1, *contra Faust.* XIX 4 and XIX 17, *contra Cresc.* I 31); they live according to the Law, which means that they keep the Sabbath and do not eat pork (*contra Faust.* XIX 4). These conceptions are obviously derived from Paul's Letter to the Galatians in which he reproaches them for "forcing the Gentiles to submit to circumcision" (*contra Faust.* XIX 17, cf. Gal. 2, 14 and also *de bapt.* VII 1).

In his correspondence with Jerome we see once more that Augustine speaks of the Jewish-Christians as Nazoraeans. In *epist.* CXII 13 Jerome writes to Augustine about Cerinthus, Ebion and the Nazoraeans. Augustine answers in *epist.* CXVI 16 1 in which, referring to the heresy of Ebion, he says of his followers that they are "commonly called Nazoraeans".

This means that Augustine, before the year 428, when he wrote his book against heresies and in which he is dependent on the *Anacephalaiosis*,² never mentions any other group of Jewish-Christians apart from the Nazoraeans. Augustine supposes that they still existed as a small group in his own time (*contra Faust.* XIX 17).

We may conclude that Augustine had no personal knowledge of the Jewish-Christians. It would be interesting to know why he called them Nazoraeans, but we have not enough data to solve this problem.

Theodoret

Theodoret, *haer. fab.*, II 2 deals with the Nazoraeans after the Ebionites and before speaking of Cerinthus. This is the same order we find in Epiphanius, although Theodoret does not give any sign of having known this author. We therefore assume that his placing Cerinthus after the Ebionites shows his dependence on Eusebius, whom he follows also in his description of the other two heresies.

The short passage about the Nazoraeans cannot have been taken from Eusebius since that writer does not mention the group. The source

¹ On this passage depends Eugyppus, *thesaurus* CCXXVI.

² On Augustine depend Isidorus of Sevilla, *de haer. lib.* X and *etymol. lib.* V, Honorius Augustodunensis, *de haer. lib.* XXIV, Praedestinatus I 9, and Paulus, *de haer. libell.* V

of Theodoret's information is quite unknown and we may suggest that all he knew of the Nazoraeans was that they were Jewish-Christians. This explains why he mentions that they accepted Jesus as a just man.

We can only conjecture why he says that the Nazoraeans used the Gospel of Peter. This Gospel is mentioned, among other sources, in Eusebius *hist. eccl.* VI 12 2, where it is said that Serapion wrote against Domnus during the great so-called Domitian persecution when Domnus lapsed to Judaism. Serapion wrote also against the Gospel of Peter. Since he attacked both the converted Jew Domnus and the Gospel of Peter, Theodoret may have concluded that this Gospel was Jewish-Christian.

Whatever source Theodoret may have used, he obviously had no personal knowledge of this sect.

Conclusion

The only writers who knew something about the Nazoraeans were Epiphanius and Jerome, and they had no first-hand knowledge of their beliefs. They depended largely on the Nazoraean books, that is, their Gospel and the commentary on the prophet Isaiah. Nevertheless we have some knowledge of their ideas. Living in Beroia and speaking Aramaic they adhered to Judaism but accepted the orthodox beliefs about Jesus and acknowledged Paul and the Gentile Christian Church.

SYMMACHIANS

In this chapter we consider Symmachus in so far as he is associated with Jewish-Christianity in early Christian literature.¹

The first writer to state that Symmachus was a Jewish-Christian is Eusebius, *hist. eccl.* VI 17 (cf. *Dem. Ev.* VII 1). He says that some of Symmachus' writings are still available *ἐν οἷς δοκεῖ πρὸς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἀποτεινόμενος εὐαγγέλιον τὴν δεδηλωμένην αἵρεσιν κρατύνειν*. The writings *μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων εἰς τὰς γραφὰς ἐρμηνειῶν* were, he

¹ See for Symmachus: H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, New York 1968 (repr. 1902), p. 49-63, S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study*, Oxford 1968, p. 94-99, and Harnack, *Gesch. der altchristl. Lit.* I 1, p. 209-212.

says, received by Origen from a certain woman who, in her turn, had received them from Symmachus.

This passage is not quite clear. Are we to understand that Symmachus wrote a commentary on Matthew, as Jerome asserts (*de vir. ill.* CIV)? This supposition is unnecessary, for Symmachus may have refuted only certain passages of the Gospel, such as Matth. 1, 23.¹ But on the other hand we read that, according to Eusebius, this work had been given to Origen complete with "other explanations", and this would seem to imply that Symmachus also wrote a commentary of some sort.

The answer to the question as to whether Symmachus really wrote a commentary is of some importance in deciding whether he was a Jewish-Christian or not. As a Jew we may suppose he wrote against some passage in Matthew, but it is difficult to accept that he wrote a whole commentary.

But the information about Symmachus given by Eusebius may be supplemented from Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 147. Here we read that Origen spent two years with the "pious virgin Juliana". Palladius tells us that he saw the books in which Origen recorded that he had found them in the house of Juliana, who had received them from Symmachus. If we consider these two stories together we may conclude that Symmachus did not belong to the orthodox Church, of which Juliana was a member. But is it any easier to accept that Juliana was acquainted with a Jew or a Jewish-Christian?

We may therefore conclude that it is very difficult to decide whether Eusebius is right in his statement about Symmachus' Jewish-Christian background. We must also remember that Origen does not actually say that he was a Jewish-Christian. One might draw attention to the passage in *in Matth.* XVI 16 where he says that Symmachus used the word *παῦς* instead of *πρωτός*, which is found in LXX in Zach. 9,9. But this is hardly sufficient proof that Symmachus was an Ebionite.

Jerome speaks of Symmachus and Theodotion as Ebionites (*in Hab.* 3 11 *et seq.*, *de vir. ill.* LIV). In *de vir. ill.* LIV, following Eusebius, he writes that Symmachus wrote commentaries on Matthew. This was again repeated by Nicephorus Callistus (*eccl. hist.* V 12).

Apart from Jerome, in the above-mentioned passage which is dependent on Eusebius, Latin writers never speak of Symmachus as an Ebionite. Nevertheless, they sometimes mention a Jewish-Christian sect, the Symmachians. The first writer to speak of this group

¹ Cf. Harnack, *Gesch. der altchristl. Lit.* I 1, p. 210.

is Ambrosiaster, *ad Gal. prol.* He says that they are descendants of the Pharisees who live according to the Law but claim to be Christians. In connection with our remarks about the Nazoraeans we have already said that whereas Augustine himself speaks of Nazoraeans Faustus speaks about Jewish-Christians called Symmachians (*contra Faust.* XIX 17 and *contra Cresc.* I 31)¹.

Filaster writes that the Symmachians were disciples of Patricius, a heretic who held some Gnostic views. He said that they were libertines (*de haer.* LXIII).

Marius Victorinus makes an interesting observation. He writes that the Symmachians refer to James "whom they consider an Apostle like the Twelve" and that they live like Jews (*in ep. ad Gal.* 1, 19). They believe Christ to be Adam and the *anima generalis*. It is not clear from what source he received this information. When he speaks of the Ebionites it seems that this concept of Christ has some affinity with the contents of Pseudo-Clementine literature.²

We may conclude that those who speak of Symmachus as an Ebionite do not mention the Symmachians and that those who write about the Symmachian group do not consider Symmachus to be an Ebionite. We may however assume that he was indeed an Ebionite. In any case at one time he was considered to be a Jewish Christian. Probably it was due to this tradition that some writers spoke of Symmachians when referring to Jewish-Christians. Or it may be that this was because they knew that Jewish-Christians used Symmachus' translation of the Old Testament.

ELKESAITES

Hippolytus

Hippolytus mentions Elxai³ in a passage about bishop Callistus (*Ref.* IX 13-17), and again in a long list of heretics (X 29).

At the time when Hippolytus was objecting to the somewhat lenient

¹ See p. 50-51.

² See p. 33.

³ Hippolytus uses the name 'Ηλξασαί. Eusebius writes about 'Ελκεσαϊτῶν αἵρεσις, Epiphanius uses both 'Ηλξαι and 'Ηλξαιος. The Kölner-Codex renders 'Αλχασαίος. See also G. Strecker, *Elkesai*, in: *Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum*, Bd. IV, c. 1171. and K. Rudolph, *Die Mandäer*, I, Göttingen 1960, p. 233, n. 4.

penitential teaching of Callistus who, according to him, even introduced the practice of a second baptism (IX 12 26), Alcibiades appeared, coming from Apamea in Syria. He, again according to Hippolytus, wanted to surpass Callistus in leniency.¹ This Alcibiades possessed a book which he declared had been received by Elxai from the Seres in Parthia.² Elxai gave it to a certain Sobiai. Finally, it is said that it had been revealed by an angel (IX 13 2).

One gets the impression that two different observations about the origin of this book have been confused. One of them probably spoke of it originating among the Seres, a legendary people, and the other about it having been inspired by an angel. It is interesting to see that in this passage Elxai seems to have been no more than an intermediary.³ We presume that Sobiai is not the name of a person, as Hippolytus suggests, but that of a group using this name to express the emphasis they laid on the importance of purification through baptism.⁴

The similarity between Callistus and Alcibiades is seen in the fact that Alcibiades also preached the possibility of receiving forgiveness of sins. According to Alcibiades, this forgiveness had been proclaimed in the third year of the Emperor Trajan, who had instituted a baptism by means of which, so he proclaimed, every sinful person could be

¹ IX 13 1: ... γοργότερον ἑαυτὸν καὶ εὐφρόστερον ἐν κυβέαις κρίνας τοῦ Καλλίστου. See also B. Poschmann, *Paenitentia secunda*, in: Theophaneia I, Bonn, 1940, p. 348-367.

² This tribe is mentioned in Pseudo Clement, *Rec.* VIII 48 and IX 19 25 and is considered to be pious and holy. Liddell-Scott, s.v. Σήρ: "the people from whom silk was obtained (i.e. The Chinese)".

³ The remarks on the origin of the book can be compared with Epiphanius, *Pan.* 19 1 4, where it is said that Elxai wrote the book because he received a "prophecy or a divine inspired wisdom", and Eusebius, *hist. eccl.* VI 38, saying that the book fell from heaven. The different traditions can be explained if the book was written by an anonymous person in the first person singular. The revelation was probably given by one or two angels of an enormous size as suggested by Hippolytus. This agrees with Epiphanius who, though he identified the angel and Christ, writes about the revelation by a "power" (*Pan.* 19 4 1). For this reason the book was possibly originally named "The Book of חיל כסא", this means the "Book of the Hidden Power" (cf. Hippolytus, *Ref.* X 29 1, saying that the book bore the name of Elxai and Epiphanius, *Pan.* 19 6 1, who gives it the name "Book of Elxai"). Since the name "el chasai" was not understood by Greek readers, having obviously been left untranslated, it was accepted that it was the name of the man who distributed it (Hippolytus) or who had to be identified with the author (Epiphanius).

⁴ Rudolph, o.c., p. 236-237, identifies this name with that of the Sampsaeans mentioned by Epiphanius in *Pan.* 53. Cf. also the proper name Σαββαῖος ὁ βαπτιστῆς in Kölner-Codex 97,18-98,8.

absolved (13 4).¹ According to Hippolytus, he was especially concerned with the erring sheep dispersed by Callistus (13 5).

Hippolytus writes that the angel who inspired the Book was of enormous size² and was accompanied by a female angel.³ The first angel was the son of God and the second the Holy Spirit. (13 2-3).

In these words Hippolytus gives the nucleus of Alcibiades' doctrine. We are certain however that the particular situation in Rome at that time influenced his preaching. Hippolytus writes that Alcibiades had been an "interpreter" of Elxai (cf. 17 2). We must now therefore try to determine how adaptations of the original teaching may be discerned.

In chapter 13 Hippolytus gives a general account of Alcibiades' preaching, which lays stress on the possibility of penitence, as revealed by this book. He also taught the obligation of baptism (13 4). Obviously he was mainly or exclusively addressing those who had misbehaved (13 4).

Hippolytus writes that he opposed Alcibiades. He goes on to say: "After having exposed his former life and shown that his supposed ascetism is hypocritical, I shall now give an account of the essential points of his teaching (τῶν ῥητῶν κεφάλαια) in order that those who happen to read his writings (τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐγγράφοις) carefully may see what was this heresy which he adopted" (13 6).

¹ Also Epiphanius connects Elxai with the time of Trajan, see *Pan.* 19 1 4. We wonder whether the movement really started in 101, the third year of Emperor Trajan. In IX 16 4 it is said that again when three years of the reign of the emperor Trajan are completed from the time that he subjected the Parthians to his own sway, war will rage between the angels of the north. This seems to imply that before this passage in the book was spoken about Trajan's Parthian war as the beginning of an important event and the introduction of three years after which the demoniac powers ("angels of the north") will destroy each other. This can be explained as the moment men will be judged (see Epiphanius quoting from the book in *Pan.* 19 4 3 a passage which had to be translated with: "I shall be your witness on the day of the great judgment", see J. Irmscher, in: Hennecke-Schnemelcher, *Neutestamentl. Apokr.* II, p. 432) and the beginning of a new era. The book opens the possibility of salvation during the three years in which the "angels of the North" are still raging. The movement obviously started in the originally Parthian side of the border.

² The sizes mentioned by Hippolytus are the same as those given by Epiphanius, *Pan.* 19 4 1; 30 17 6 and 53 1 9.

³ Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30 17 6 writes that the Holy Spirit stands "over against" Christ and in 53 1 9 that she is his sister.

Hippolytus appears to say that he intends to give information on Alcibiades' preaching in order to avoid readers of the Book being deceived by its contents.

In chapter 14 Hippolytus deals with the oral preaching. This chapter may be divided into two parts. It begins with the words: "He pretends to live according to the Law, saying ...". But in 14 2 he uses the plural form: "*They* are puffed up to such an extent ...". It is only in this first part that we read Alcibiades' words.

He says that Alcibiades lived according to the Law and said that all believers must be circumcised and live according to the Law. Next he goes on to speak about Christ. He believed that Christ had been born many times before he was born of a virgin. But this does not alter the fact that he considered Christ to be similar to all other men.

The observation in 14 2, where Hippolytus speaks about the Elkesaite preaching in the plural form is different. Here we read that *they* claim to have the gift of "foreknowledge".¹ This resulted from their astrological learning which may also explain their claim to be exorcists. This preaching emphasised their astrological love and powers of healing. We assume that this general information does not come from Alcibiades but from the source he is also going to use in X 29 where we find the same emphasis on foreknowledge, mathematics, astrology and magic among the Elkesaites.

In 14 3 Hippolytus promises to write about the contents of the Book.²

From chapter 15 we gather that he obviously refers to the Book, but it is not easy to determine whether he renders its contents in the way it was understood and explained by Alcibiades. In 15 1-3 it is said that Alcibiades administered a particular baptism to those who had committed sexual sins. They are said to listen to the Book, to be baptised a second time in the name of the Supreme God and his Son and to invoke seven witnesses "described in the Book".³ During

¹ Hippolytus ascribes this knowledge to a number of groups claiming to know the future, cf. I 8, I 25; IV 13; IV 36; V 26 and also X 29 and 32.

² Cf. J. Irmischer, *o.c.*, p. 529-532. See also H. Waitz, *Das Buch des Elchasai*, in: *Harnack-Ehrung*, Leipzig 1921, p. 87-104.

³ The elements are given with different contents and order. We find the following enumerations:

Ref. IX 15 2
Pan. 19 1 6 (B)
1. heaven

Pan. 19 6 4
Pan. 19 1 6 (A)
7. 5. heaven

Pan. 30 17 4

1. heaven

the baptismal rite Alcibiades tells them that they will have a portion with the just and that their sins have been forgiven because they have listened to the Book and are baptized a second time, fully clothed.

In 15 3-6 Hippolytus writes about their incantations. In this connection he refers to Alcibiades' words with regard to those bitten by a mad dog.¹ They have to go to a river, to pray to the Supreme God and invoke the seven witnesses. They have to say that they will not sin again, nor commit adultery, nor steal nor commit a number of other sins specifically mentioned. After having uttered these words they are baptized, fully clothed, in the name of the Supreme God.

In chapter 16 Hippolytus writes about the baptism of those afflicted with consumption and goes into some astrological practices. This applies to particular days on which one is supposed to baptize, or not to baptize, and to begin or to avoid beginning an enterprise.

This means that in the passage given by Hippolytus we can distinguish between three sources: the Book with revelations, Alcibiades' preaching, and the doctrines of the Elkesaites in general, taken from some source dealing with the Elkesaites.

We may accept that Alcibiades himself is responsible for his remarks on living according to the Law and Christ having been born many times before (14 1). Hippolytus explicitly quotes them as part of Alci-

2. water	2. 2. water	2. water
3. holy ghosts	5. 7. wind	3. winds
4. angels of prayer	4. 6. air	6. angels of righteousness
5. oil	3. 4. bread (added by Holl)	8. oil
6. salt	1. 1. salt	3. salt
7. earth	6. 3. earth	2. earth
		7. bread

In Pseudo Clement, *Diam.* 2 and 4 we find: 1. heaven, 3. water, 4. air, 2. earth, followed by a meal in connection with which are mentioned: bread and salt. If Epiphanius does not depend on Hippolytus, which may be assumed, we may conclude that the identity of *Ref.* IX 15 and *Pan.* 19 1 6 (B) is an indication that we are dealing with the original text. In the three other texts of *Pan.* we find the word "Wind(s)" which may point to a Semitic original in which the word מר was translated also by "ghosts". In *Pan.* 19 1 6 (A) and 19 6 4 we find the word "air" instead of "angels of righteousness" (or "of prayer") the word "oil" has to give place to the word "bread". The introduction of the words "air" and "bread" can be explained by the influence of the "Grundschrift", of which we find the influence in the Pseudo Clementines. Since Epiphanius assumed the influence of Elxai on the "Grundschrift" he decided to combine the two different enumerations in *Pan.* 30.

¹ See E. Peterson, *Die Behandlung der Tollwut bei den Elkesaiten nach Hippolytus*, in: *Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis*, Rome 1959, p. 221-235.

biades' own preaching. Moreover, the passage is isolated and its contents do not show any connection with the rest of the passage dealing with the Elkesaites. The source mainly dealt with astrological and magical practices known among the Elkesaites.

It is, however, extremely difficult to distinguish between the contents of the book and Alcibiades' interpretations presented in chapter 15.

We may accept that Alcibiades' preaching lays stress on sexual sins. But are we to accept that the Book showed the same emphasis, or was it mainly devoted to helping those possessed by demons or physically ill? Next, we can accept that in the Book it was said that one had to invoke seven witnesses during baptismal rites (15 2). But did the Book speak about a baptism in the name of the Supreme God and his Son? Is it necessary to accept that the Book mentioned a second baptism? From Hippolytus' description we receive the impression that sexual sins, baptism in the name of the Supreme God and the idea of a "second baptism" go together (see 15 1 and 3). As soon as he writes about purification from other evil things he omits the expression "second baptism" (15 4-16 1).

The group of Elkesaites described in X 29 shows agreement with the opinions of Alcibiades. Hippolytus deals with the group as part of a summary of various heresies. He appears to be dependent on a source which he has already used in IX 14 2. We notice that the polemical attitude is absent. Ablutions and astrology are only mentioned incidentally. The main topics are their christological ideas. We again read that Christ will return throughout the ages. Contrary to Alcibiades' preaching, it is said that Christ is not "one" but was transfused into many bodies and at the present time into the body of Christ.

It is not necessary to assume that Alcibiades represented an Elkesaite group like the one mentioned in X 29. But it seems possible that Alcibiades adapted his preaching to Roman opinions, especially if we note that he said that Christ was not born from a virgin the first time. This seems to assume a preaching in which the virgin birth was mentioned. Alcibiades is willing to agree with this idea without denying the doctrine of a continually returning Christ.

With regard to Jewish-Christianity and the contents of the Book we can only say that the idea of a Supreme God, a Son named the Great King, accompanied by the Holy Spirit, may show Christian influence.¹

¹ The name of the Supreme God and his Son are Jewish, but see also for the Son and the Spirit, J. Daniélou, *Théologie ...*, p. 140, 171 and 279, and G. Kretschmar,

For the rest it is only possible to discover Jewish ideas. Apart from the names given to the divine persons we notice an interest in the Sabbath. In a peculiar passage Hippolytus writes that the Elkesaites honour the Sabbath — a remark which refers to one of the ten commandments — but that it is the day of one of the impious angels (IX 16 3) on which one must not do any work.¹ In this connection it is interesting to refer to another proof of Jewish influence. Epiphanius wrote that, according to the Elkesaites, Phineas, a descendant of the famous Phineas mentioned in Num. 25, worshipped the Artemis in Susa (*Pan.* 19 2 1). This is strange if we remember that Phineas in the Old Testament is a champion of Judaism, but it may shed some light on the background of the Elkesaites.

If we remember that the Elkesaite movement started at a time when Parthia was defeated by the Romans, and also bear in mind that the Jews usually supported the Parthians against the Romans, we may assume that we are dealing with a Jewish movement that tried to show its allegiance to the Parthian nation.²

The Jewish-Christian ideas of Alcibiades are obvious. He adheres to a christology which agrees with the one we meet in the Pseudo Clementines.³ This is interesting since it shows that this kind of christology already existed before the year 200. It can be located in Syria and particularly in Alcibiades' place or origin, Apamea.⁴

Origen

Eusebius had no further knowledge of the existence of the Elkesaites, but he tells us that Origen spoke of them in his Homily of the 82nd Psalm (*hist. eccl.* VI 38). According to Origen they appeared in Caesarea bringing a book that was supposed to have come from heaven. Their preaching seems to have caused some disturbance in the Christian

Studien zur frühchristlichen Trinitätstheologie, in: *Beitr. z. hist. Theologie* 21. Tübingen 1956, p. 98-99.

¹ The Sabbath is the day of the wicked star Saturn, see W. Rordorff. *Der Sonntag*, in: *Abhandl. z. Theol. des A.v.N.T.* 43, Zürich 1962, p. 30-36.

² See G. Widengren, *Quelques Rapports entre Juifs et Iraniens à l'Époque des Parthes*, in: *Volume de Congrès Strassbourg 1956*, in: *Suppl. to Vetus Test.* IV Leiden 1957 p. 197-241, and idem, *The Status of the Jews in the Sassanian Empire*, in: *Iranica Antiqua* I 1961, p. 117-162.

³ See Pseudo-Clement, *Hom.* III 20 and *Rec.* II 22 4.

⁴ Theodoret depends on both Hippolytus, especially X 29, and Eusebius.

Churches because they rejected parts of the Bible, although they quoted some passages from both Old and New Testaments.

It is not quite clear what this means. Possibly they quoted some passages from the Bible but rejected it as canonical Scripture.

Origen states that they rejected Paul, and this may have been due to Jewish-Christian influence. But they seem also to have been allowed to abjure their faith. This cannot easily be explained by Elkesaite doctrine, since this practice was confined to the Gnostics who had little in common with Elkesaite teaching.¹ It may be that, like Alcibiades in Rome, the Elkesaites took advantage of the difficulties within the Caesarean Church, where the treatment of the lapsed was under discussion. Possibly the Elkesaites seized this opportunity to offer an easy way to forgiveness for those who had denied their faith during the persecutions.² It is strange that nothing is said about purifications. Origen writes only about their preaching in which they invited their listeners to believe in the Book.

With regard to the Elkesaites we only find what we have already discovered in Hippolytus. It seems that the Elkesaites were influenced by Jewish-Christian beliefs at a very early date. Origen, however, shows only one result of this contact, the rejection of Paul.³

Epiphanius

In his *Panarion* Epiphanius twice mentions Elxai, in chapter 19 when he speaks of the Jewish sect of the Ossaeans and in chapter 53 when he speaks of the sect of the Sampsaeanes.

Chapter 19 shows a peculiar example of Epiphanius' reasoning. He says that the Ossaeans are Jews living in the Nabataean region, Iturea, Moabitis and Arielitis in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea (19 1 1-2). Then he states that Elxai joined them there in the time of Trajan (19 1 4). There follows a passage in which he speaks only of Elxai's beliefs (19 1 5-2 1). Next he goes on to speak about the Ossaeans, of whom he says that the remnant still live in Nabataea and Perea, near Moabitis, under the name of Sampsaeanes (19 2 2). Up to the time of the Emperor Constantine two sisters seems to have been venerated

¹ Martyrdom is rejected by Basilides, cf. Irenaeus, *adv. haer.* I 24 4, and Marcion, cf. Tertullian, *de fuga in pers.* 9.

² Epiphanius emphatically refers to persecution in *Pan.* 19 2 9.

³ Timothy, *de rec. haer.* c. 32B depends on Eusebius.

in that region; they were called Marthous and Marthana, and were descendants of Elxai (19 2 4-5). Once more we find details of Elxai's doctrine taken from 'the book which contains revelations' (19 3 4-4 4). Epiphanius continues to speak about the Ossaeans, of whom he writes that they live like Jews, meaning that they live according to the Law and submit to circumcision but, like the Nazoraeans, reject the Pentateuch (19 5 1). They were dispersed after the fall of Jerusalem and disappeared like the other Jewish sects (19 5 6-7). Finally Epiphanius once more describes the Elkesaite oaths (19 6 4).

It is clear that Epiphanius has inserted some passages about Elxai into his description of the Ossaeans. Several times he repeats that Elxai joined the Ossaeans (19 1 4; 19 2 2 and 19 5 4). But it seems strange that this should have happened in the time of Trajan (19 1 4), since the Ossaeans are supposed to have been dispersed after the fall of Jerusalem (19 5 6-7). Clearly we are dealing with an conjectural reconstruction of the origin of the Sampsaeans contrived by Epiphanius himself. This origin was utterly unknown to the Sampsaeans themselves, for nothing is said about these events in chapter 53, which gives us some reliable information about this group.

The reason why he chose the Ossaeans as the predecessors of the Sampsaeans is the tradition that both these groups inhabited the same region, for it is in connection with the mention of the dwelling place of the Ossaeans (19 2 2) that Epiphanius speaks about their relations with the Sampsaeans. Since the Sampsaeans evidently shared some Elkesaite beliefs he mentions some traditions about Elxai in the middle of his information about the Ossaeans, with a view to demonstrating that Elxai joined the Ossaeans.

Now let us turn to his remarks about Elxai. He writes that Elxai wrote a book, inspired by divine wisdom and a prophecy (19 1 4). He mentions that his brother's name was Iexai (19 1 4). Elxai is presumed to have been of Jewish origin without having lived according to the Law (19 1 5). The Elkesaites venerated seven elements and invoked these elements as witnesses (19 1 6). They rejected virginity and abhorred chastity. They were obliged to marry (19 1 7). During the persecution they were allowed to worship idols, for which they adduced Phineas as a witness (19 2 1). They spoke of Jesus as the Great King, but Epiphanius could not discover in their book that they were really speaking about Jesus Christ (19 3 4). They were forbidden to pray turning to the East because they had to pray in the direction of Jerusalem (19 3 5). They rejected sacrifices (19 3 6) and fire (19 3 7), but

venerated water (19 3 7). Christ was of enormous size and so was the Holy Spirit, rising above the clouds and standing between two mountains (19 4 1-2).¹ Finally Epiphanius tells us that they swore by seven witnesses (19 6 4).

It is evident that Epiphanius, or rather the unknown writer who was his source, had access to the 'book that contained revelations' since he quotes several passages from this work (19 3 7 and 19 4 3).

Epiphanius' account shows similarities with that of Hippolytus, when he speaks about the seven witnesses. He also mentions the Great King and the Holy Spirit being of enormous size, but Epiphanius identified the Great King with Christ. It is not impossible that this identification already took place in the Book. They differ in their account of what happened during the third year of the Emperor Trajan's reign (Hipp., *Ref.* X 13 4 and Epiphanius, *Pan.* 19 1 4). Epiphanius has different ideas about the origin of the Book and gives no details about the various purifications. He also gives different quotations from the Book. This makes it unlikely that Epiphanius used Hippolytus' description. Nor it is likely that he depends on Eusebius, although both Epiphanius and Eusebius mention the permission to abjure the faith in times of persecution.

Therefore we assume that Epiphanius depended upon an original tradition which included some quotation from 'the book that contained revelations'. But he seems to have drawn his own conclusions from its contents.

He believes that Elxai was a Jew. He may have come to this conclusion because of the tradition that mentions the custom of facing towards Jerusalem when praying. But Epiphanius himself writes that Elxai did not live as a Jew. This can only mean that Epiphanius did not find in his sources that Elxai obliged his followers to submit to circumcision.

A few ideas are interesting, viz. the obligation to marry, the rejection of sacrifices and the veneration of water. These are also Ebionite ideas according to Epiphanius, because they were met with in the "*Grund-schrift*" (cf. 30 2 6; 30 16 7). For this reason Epiphanius supposed them to have been introduced by Elxai. This would have been a very good reason to mention them again in a description of Elkesaite doctrines. But in this case Epiphanius quotes a passage from the Book in which fire is rejected and water venerated (19 3 7). It was no more than natural

¹ Cf. *Pan.* 30 17 6-7.

that Epiphanius should conclude from this passage that they rejected sacrifices. But it is probable that other remarks are due to Epiphanius' own reasoning.

The remarks in chapter 53 on the Sampsaeanes are fairly superficial. He says they are also called Elkesaites (53 1 1). They live in Perea which he says is the region on the other side of the Dead Sea, in the land of the Moabites near the river Arnon and in the vicinity of Iturea and Moabitis (cf. 19 1 10). They were supposed to use the same book as the Ossaeans, the Ebionites and the Nazoraeans (53 1 3). He is obviously speaking about the Elkesaite book which contained revelations, but he also mentions another book written by Iexai, Elxai's brother. This brother was mentioned in 19 1 4 also, but not in connection with a book. It is probable that Epiphanius read about a book written by Elxai in a manuscript in which the name Elxai was misspelt or damaged. From this possible slip of the pen he concluded that two books existed written by two different authors.¹ The Elkesaites honoured one God, observed purifications and looked like Jews, but some of them rejected meat (53 1 4). They venerated two women from the family of Elxai, Marthous and Marthana (53 1 2). They did not accept prophets and apostles. They adored water as if it were divine (53 1 7). They were Christians in name only. They believed that Christ was created and that he reappeared throughout the ages. He was incarnate in Adam and assumed his body or dispensed with it as he wished. The Holy Spirit is his sister and both are of immense size (53 1 8-9).

Epiphanius probably depends on reliable traditions. He knows that the Sampsaeanes lived in Perea which he mentions twice in connection with them (53 1 1). This group was obviously influenced by Elkesaite ideas. They venerated Elxai's descendants and were supposed to possess his book. But the specifically Elkesaite ideas they held were very few. They permitted several baptisms but this custom was not confined to the Sampsaeanes. It is said that they rejected meat, repudiated the prophets and apostles and adored water, but this may be due to ideas already existing within the group influenced by Elkesaite doctrines.

More important, however, are Epiphanius' remarks on the Sampsaean christology. The idea of Christ reappearing throughout the ages shows similarity with Hippolytus' account of Alcibiades' preaching and the Elkesaites, according to *Ref.* X 29. The Holy Spirit being the

¹ See also W. Brandt, *Elchasai*, Leipzig 1912, p. 129-130.

sister of Christ is an idea which can be compared with Epiphanius' passage about the Elkesaite Ossaeans in 19 4 2. But still we wonder whether 53 1 8-9 belonged to the original tradition about the Sampsaeans. It betrays the influence of Epiphanius himself. In the first place we notice that the description of the returning Christ shows similarities with the Ebionite christology according to 30 3 5. This christology, drawn from the "*Grundschrift*", was supposed to be Elkesaite because it was not found in Epiphanius' earlier sources. It is therefore to be assumed that Epiphanius inserted a description of this christology in a passage dealing with Elxai. This again he combined with the tradition about Elxai quoted by him in chapter 19 about the enormous size of Christ. The whole passage gives the impression of Epiphanius' reasoning. He forgot that he had already stated that they were neither Christians nor Jews.

From this we may conclude that no specific Jewish-Christian ideas can be connected with the Sampsaeans.¹

Kitab al-Fihrist

In the book called *Kitab al-Fihrist*, written in 987/8 by al-Nadim, it is said of the Mughtasilah that they wash everything that they eat. Their leader is al-Hasih, which means Elxai. He is supposed to have taught that there are two orders of being: a male and a female: vegetables belong to the male order and mistletoe to the female. This division agrees with the two principles recognised by the Manichaeans. The community is said to have split up at some later time. Some of them venerated the stars.

This is a group which probably still existed in the tenth century. We do not find many Elkesaite elements in their doctrine. The dualistic tendency, particularly, does not seem to have been part of the original Elkesaite teaching. This group believes the male and female orders are opposed to each other, but in the original Elkesaite doctrine the male king and the female spirit are both divine.

The passage is interesting because, according to al-Nadim, Mani's father, Fattik, joined this group. Mani also belonged to it for a long time. His father joined them because once, while praying in a temple, he had heard a voice telling him repeatedly that he was to abstain

¹ Anacephalaiosis, *Tome 3*, depends on Epiphanius. John Damascene, *de haer.* 53, Augustine, *de haer.* 32 and Theodor bar-Khonai depend on the Anacephalaiosis.

from meat, wine and sexual intercourse. This must have occurred not long before Mani's birth, about 215/6. We may therefore conclude that the group at that time already held dualistic ideas.

All this appears to be corroborated by the newly discovered papyrus which speaks about Mani's life.¹ From this Manichaean writing we learn that the sect to which Mani belonged preached the purity of vegetables. They were even cultivated in a special way.² Every day the members had to perform the necessary ablutions.³ According to this papyrus Mani opposed these practices, reminding the members of his sect of what had happened to Elxai.⁴ Mani is also supposed to have pointed to passages in the New Testament which show that Jesus favoured different practices from those adopted by the sect.⁵

It is of course impossible to imagine that anyone could have quoted Elxai to prove that purifications were useless. We also doubt whether Mani was speaking about Jesus. Kitab al-Fihrist does not give the impression that the group held any Christian beliefs. The mention of Elxai and Jesus as witnesses against baptism and against the distinction between pure and impure food is obviously meant to impress the readers.

We may conclude that Mani belonged to a group which held Elxai in great esteem. To invoke Elxai was justified because this group practised purifications. The Dualism favoured by them can hardly be explained by Elkesaite influence. However, since nothing is said about Christian beliefs, the Kitab al-Fihrist and the Manichaean papyrus are of no importance for the study of Jewish-Christianity.

Conclusion

If we accept the book of Elxai as the original Elkesaite document we may conclude that it contained little of importance for the study of Jewish Christianity. We are dealing with a literary product of an apocalyptic-syncretistic, missionary movement which originated during

¹ See A. Henrichs - L. Koenen, *Ein griechischer Mani-Codex* (P. Colon. inv. nr. 4780), in: *Zeitschr. f. Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 5 1970, p. 97-216.

² See Henrichs-Koenen, *art. c.*, p. 145-149.

³ See Henrichs-Koenen, *art. c.*, p. 141-145.

⁴ See Kölner-Codex p. 94, 1-95, 14; 96, 6-16; 96, 21-97, 10; 97, 11-17.

⁵ See Henrichs-Koenen, *art. c.*, p. 136-138.

the Roman invasion of Parthia within a Jewish community which tried to show its allegiance to the Parthians.¹

The movement came into contact with different Jewish and non-Jewish groups of the river Jordan. In this way the Elkesaite movement included some Christological conceptions in its oral message. These conceptions are interesting because they give us an idea of some obviously Jewish-Christian ideas in that region. It is because of this influence that the study of the Elkesaite movement is important for the study of Jewish Christianity. The significance, however, must not be overestimated. It is also necessary to handle Epiphanius' information with discretion. He shows a tendency to ascribe ideas to Elxai found in the "*Grundschrift*".

CONCLUSIONS

With the help of testimonies in Patristic literature only it is impossible to give a full scale picture of Jewish Christianity in the early Church. We can only study the significance of this information as part of the evidence found in other writings also.

As a general conclusion we may say that Patristic observations on Jewish Christianity have no great historical value. One writer usually copies his predecessor or combines what has been written by a number of earlier writers. Nevertheless, it seems that every now and then we find an author who possesses some fresh material. We have tried to distinguish between traditional and first hand information.

¹ Brandt, *Die jüd. Baptismen* ..., p. 99, and idem, *Elchasai*, p. 11-12, speaks about Elxai as "ein jüdischer Reformator". In a review of *Elchasai* the Jewish Christian ideas are emphasized by A. Harnack, *Theol. Literaturz.* 36 1912, c. 683-685. G. Strecker, *Elkesai*, in: *Reallex. f. Ant. u. Christent.* Bd. IV, c. 1185, speaks about "synkretistisch-gnostisches Judenchristentum; Schoeps, *Theologie* ..., p. 330, writes: "... wesentlich orientalisch-heidnisch ... jüdische und judenchristliche Elemente sind erst künstlich aufgepropft worden". Irmscher, in: Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentl. Apokr.* II, p. 529, writes: "Der Grundcharakter des Buches ist Judentum" although he presupposes other influences as well. Rudolph, *o.c.*, p. 234, speaks about "judengnostisch ... zu der offenbar schon früh ebionitische (christliche) Elemente gehörten". E.M. Yamachi, *Gnostic Ethics and Mandaean Origins*, in: *Harv. Theol. Stud.* XXIV Cambridge, Mass. 1970, p. 62, speaks about "the quasi-Jewish Baptist sect of the Elchasaites", but the passage about this group is otherwise an example of his generally uncritical way of reproducing sources.

To begin with, we can now be sure that the Jewish-Christianity ascribed to the Cerinthians is an invention of early Christian authors. Cerinthus was originally known as a heretic preaching in Asia Minor. According to tradition he met the Apostle John in the bath house at Ephesus. This encounter must have left him labelled as a Gnostic. It was Epiphanius who described him as Paul's main opponent. For this reason it was necessary to consider him a faithful follower of the Law. Epiphanius understood that it was not possible to present him as a Gnostic and as a Jewish-Christian at the same time. Therefore he supposed that he developed his doctrine at a later date. Epiphanius was still unable to avoid all inconsistencies, but his followers succeeded in presenting Cerinthus more and more specifically as a Jewish-Christian.

We may also conclude that the Symmachians were a product of the imagination of early Christian authors. Authors who wrote in Latin ascribed to them certain typical Jewish-Christian characteristics. It is conceivable that the knowledge that some Jewish-Christians used the Old Testament translation of Symmachus led to this group, of Jewish-Christians being known as Symmachians.

We may assert that, unlike the Cerinthians and the Symmachians, the Nazoraean may be clearly recognised as a Jewish-Christian group which existed during the time of Jerome and Epiphanius. They lived in the vicinity of Beroia according to the Jewish Law, and they spoke Hebrew or Aramaic. But they recognised the existence of a Gentile Christian Church and accepted the Virgin Birth. They used a Gospel written in Hebrew or Aramaic, a copy of which was to be found in the library at Caesarea. This may be the same as the Gospel used by Hegesippus in Palestine in the second century, or it may be a somewhat similar version.

The best starting point for a study of the Ebionites is a scrutiny of the observations made by Irenaeus. We have the impression that these are reliable, and this is true also of the information he gives, among other statements, about their commentaries on the prophets, their habit of praying in the direction of Jerusalem, and their celebrating the Eucharist with water.

In its general lines Irenaeus' description of the Ebionites resembles that given by Origen in his writings. We find here also the rejection of the Virgin Birth and the repudiation of Paul. Origen's reference to the existence of two Ebionite groups is interesting but impossible to prove historically.

Origen's remarks suggest that he possessed some first hand knowledge, possibly due to personal contact, of the Ebionites. If this is so, we may agree that Origen was speaking about Jewish-Christians living in Egypt. Since he makes no mention of certain particular practices referred to by Irenaeus, we may conclude that the tradition known to this author referred to a group of Jewish-Christians who lived in a different region.

Epiphanius describes the Ebionites with the help of some writings, the most important of which are: the *Periodoi Petrou*, the *Anabathmoi Jakobou*, and the so-called "Gospel of the Ebionites". He was well aware that the contents of these books differed from the traditions about the Ebionites found in Irenaeus. This applied particularly to differences in Christological conceptions. Epiphanius solved the difficulty by accepting the theory of the influence of Elxai on the Ebionites.

If we examine this problem we have to deal with a number of queries. In the first place we must bear in mind that Epiphanius starts from the supposition that the "Ebionites" formed one group, clearly described by Irenaeus and other Christian authors. If the writings he had come across were supposed to be Ebionite, he had to presume some development in the original Ebionite doctrine. We must, however, reject this supposition. We have already concluded that Origen was describing Jewish-Christians living in Egypt, and we may now conclude that Irenaeus was describing Jewish-Christians living elsewhere in the Hellenistic world, but we cannot admit that he was speaking of Jewish-Christians living east of the river Jordan, the region whence Epiphanius' "Ebionite" books originated.

Moreover, we question whether all the writings that Epiphanius refers to were written in the same environment. This was certainly true of the *Periodoi Petrou* and the *Anabathmoi*, but not necessarily true of the "Gospel of the Ebionites". The difficulty lies in the fact that although the first two books were used as sources of the Pseudo-Clementine literature, this Gospel was not quoted in these writings.¹ This is not a decisive argument, for the Pseudo-Clementine books may have been composed in a region where the canonical Gospels were used. We can, however, point to similarities between the contents of quotations from the Gospel and the other writings. They all mention

¹ See G. Strecker, *Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen* ... p. p. 117-136.

the rejection of meat foods and sacrifices. This is why we may suggest that all three writings originated in the same group.

The question as to whether this group was influenced by Elkesaite doctrine, as Epiphanius believes, may be answered more easily. We cannot agree with Epiphanius here because he starts from the assumption that the original Elkesaite preaching contained Jewish or Christian beliefs. It is, for example, quite out of the question that the original Elkesaite doctrine could have contained anything similar to the characteristic Christological conceptions found in the "Ebionite" writings used by Epiphanius. The very contrary is true: the Elkesaites were influenced by Jewish-Christians who held Christological views similar to those found in the "Ebionite" books. It is this same Jewish-Christian influence which accounts for the Elkesaites' repudiation of Paul and their adherence to the Jewish Law.

There are however two groups of practices which require further explanation. They are both mentioned in Epiphanius' "Ebionite" books and in his descriptions of the Elkesaite doctrine.

In the first place we can point to similarities between the "Ebionite" writings and the original Elkesaite doctrine with regard to special oaths and the practice of frequent purifications.

We cannot exclude the possibility that in this respect the Elkesaites may have influenced the group from which Epiphanius' sources originated, but the differences between the form of the oaths and the general practice of purification in the region to the east of the river Jordan may lead to the conclusion that we are dealing with ideas which had an independent origin.

Moreover, we find in Epiphanius' account of the Elkesaites a number of practices which are also to be found in the "Ebionite" books. We refer to the rejection of meat, the obligation to marry, and the partial or total repudiation of the prophets.

The presence of these practices in Epiphanius' description of the Elkesaites is due to his belief that everything in his "Ebionite" books which does not seem in line with the Ebionite traditions as reported in, for example, Irenaeus, must be accepted as Elkesaite.

On the other hand we notice that Epiphanius even went so far as to include a purely Elkesaite belief, i.e. that Christ was of immense size, among the beliefs of the Ebionites, although nothing similar is to be found in the supposedly Ebionite writings.

We may therefore conclude that the original Elkesaite doctrine as has been available in the book with revelations may be of little

importance for the study of Jewish-Christianity. It is however important to bear in mind that the Elkesaites had adopted Jewish-Christian beliefs, especially with regard to Christ, before the time of Hippolytus. Since these ideas show some similarity with those found in the source used by the Pseudo-Clementines we may assume that they represent very ancient Jewish-Christian ideas.

From the information found in early Christian authors we conclude that we may distinguish between four different groups of Jewish-Christians. Firstly we meet a group described by Irenaeus; secondly a group found in Origen (or possibly two different groups); thirdly we have the group of the Nazoraeans and fourthly the group whence originated the "Ebionite" writings known to Epiphanius.

Each group has its own characteristics, but those mentioned by Irenaeus and Origen show a close similarity.

The reason for the existence of these groups is to be found in their different places of abode. Irenaeus and Origen obviously spoke of Jewish-Christians who lived in the Hellenistic world. We may assume that these disappeared at an early date. Latin authors like Augustine speak of Jewish-Christians as people of the past. The Nazoraeans led an isolated existence. They may, in an early period, have been Palestinian Christians. They still existed in the time of Jerome and Epiphanius. The group whence came the sources of Pseudo-Clementine literature showed some particular beliefs, for example with regard to the eating of meat and to sacrifices, which may be explained by their origin among groups of Jews originally held those beliefs.

Christian authors mention three different Jewish-Christian Gospels. Evidently the Gospel of the Nazoraeans, written in Hebrew or Aramaic, was used by the Nazoraeans of Beroia. The "Gospel of the Hebrews", first mentioned by Clement and Origen, has apparently nothing to do with the Ebionites described by the same authors. It may have been the Gospel of the original Jewish-Christian section of the Church of Egypt. The Gospel of the Ebionites is mentioned only by Epiphanius. This Gospel originated in the same circle as that which produced writings such as the *Periodoi Petrou*, or, more probably, originated in other but similar circles.

It is interesting that Epiphanius pays so much attention to the dwelling places of the Jewish Christians. The information about Beroia being the home of the Nazoraeans is very useful; so is his reference to Perea as the place of abode of the Sampsaean. But he is dependent on Eusebius when he writes that the Ebionites lived in Kochaba.

In dealing with this information we must bear in mind that Epiphanius is often drawing conclusions from these geographical data. As the Sampsaean lived in the same region as the Ossaeans, according to a tradition known to Epiphanius, he concluded that the Sampsaean was originally Ossaeans and that they must have been influenced by Elxai. From the tradition found in Eusebius about certain Christians leaving Jerusalem before its fall in 70, he concluded that all Jewish-Christians living to the east of the Jordan, such as the Nazoraeans and the Ebionites, originated among these Christians. We may repeat that all these observations were not the fruit of fresh information but the result of his desire to reconcile different sources.

A negative result of our investigations is the absence of any mention of Millenarian ideas in connection with Jewish-Christian sects. These beliefs are only mentioned in connection with Cerinthus, when Caius' supposition is quoted, and in connection with the Ebionites when Jerome mentions this group in an off-hand way, coupling them with the Jews.¹

Baptism and the eucharist are hardly mentioned in connection with Jewish-Christian groups. Nothing in particular is said about baptism. Concerning the eucharist, we find that it was celebrated by the Ebionites at the same time as the Jewish Passover according to Origen,² with unleavened bread according to Origen and Epiphanius,³ and with water according to Irenaeus and Epiphanius.⁴

It is interesting to note that Epiphanius writes that the Ebionites used to meet in places they called synagogues, and that they had Elders and archisynagogues.⁵

Prophets are mentioned several times. Irenaeus writes that they were carefully explained by the Ebionites. This statement may be considered in connection with the Nazoraean commentaries on the prophet Isaiah. However, in the "Ebionite" writings used by Epiphanius we notice a certain depreciation of the prophets. The same tradition may be found in Methodius.⁶ Evidently we are not dealing with one and the same conception with regard to the prophets.

¹ See Jerome, in *Es.* 66, 20.

² Origen, in *Math. comm. ser.* 79.

³ Origen, in *Math. comm. ser.* 79, and Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30 16 1.

⁴ Irenaeus, *adv. haer.* V 1 3 and Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30 16 1.

⁵ Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30 18 2.

⁶ Methodius, *Sympos.* VIII 20. Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergeschichte* ..., p. 437-438, quotes a Greek passage in which is mentioned Ebion's exegesis of the prophets. This, however

In Irenaeus' description of the Ebionites and Epiphanius' description of the Elkesaites¹ we read about the custom of praying in the direction of Jerusalem.

Furthermore, we often find the report that Jewish Christians wished to imitate Jesus, and that this was the reason why they lived according to the Jewish Law.²

Finally, we may point two different Christologies. One, which we may call typical, says that Jesus was a mere man who became the son of God. The other speaks of Christ continually reappearing through the ages. This latter conception, found only in Epiphanius' descriptions of the Ebionites and his account of the Elkesaite doctrine, shows a number of variations.³

The information about these Jewish-Christian practices is certainly interesting, but we must admit that it is very scanty. It may be used as a starting point for further investigation, in spite of the fact that we often find, in various authors, contradictory statements about the same subject.

Within these limitations we hope that these conclusions have made some contribution to the study of Jewish Christianity.

apparently is not meant to deal with Ebion or Ebionites, see A. Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* I, Tübingen 1909⁴, p. 728, n. 1.

¹ Irenaeus, *adv. haer.* I 26 2, and Epiphanius, *Pan.* 19 3 5-6.

² Cf. Pseudo-Tertullian about the Ebionites quoting Matthew 10, 24, Epiphanius about the Cerinthians quoting Matth. 10, 25 (*Pan.* 28 5 1) and about the Ebionites quoting the same passage (*Pan.* 30 26 2; 30 33 4 and 7) and Origen about the Ebionites who wish to be *imitatores Christi*, in *Matth. comm. ser.* 79.

³ See Epiphanius *Pan.* 30 3, Hippolytus, *Ref.* IX 14 2 and X 29, Epiphanius *Pan.* 53 1 8.

APPENDIX I

Pseudo-Tertullian, Epiphanius and Filaster on Cerinthus and Ebion

The remarks on the various heresies in Pseudo-Tertullian, Epiphanius and Filaster show a great similarity both in order and contents. For this reason R.A. Lipsius, *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanius*, Wien 1865, esp. p. 115-122 and 122-151, supposed that they were dependent on the lost *Syntagma* written by Hippolytus. Although this idea had already been refuted by J. Kunze, *De Historiae Gnosticismi Fontibus*, Lipsius 1894, esp. p. 59-68 (see also E. Schwartz, *Zwei Predigten Hippolyts*, in: *Sitzungsber. der Bayer. Akad. der Wissensch.*, phil.-hist. Abt. 1936, 3, München 1936, esp. p. 37-38, and P. Nautin, *Hippolyte, contre les Hérésies, fragment, étude et édition critique*, Paris 1949), we intend to deal with this subject once more, starting from the parallel passages.

Pseudo-Tertullian

3

Cerinthus haereticus erupit similia docens. nam et ipse mundum institutum esse a angelis dicit; Christum ex semine Joseph natum proponit hominem illum tantummodo sine divinitate contendens, ipsam quoque legem ab angelis datam perhibens, Iudaeorum deum non dominum, sed angelum pro-mens

Epiphanius

28 1 1-2 Κήρινθος ... σχεδόν δὲ οὐδὲν ἕτερον παρὰ τὸν προειρημένον Καρποκράν ... τὰ ἴσα γὰρ τῷ προειρημένῳ εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν συκοφαντήσας ἐξηγείται καὶ οὗτος, ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ σπέρματος Ἰωσήφ τὸν Χριστὸν γεγεννησθαι καὶ τὸν κόσμον ὁμοίως ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων γεγεννησθαι. Οὐδὲν γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ τὸν πρῶτον διήλλαξε τῇ εἰσαγωγῇ τῆς αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν τούτῳ μόνον, ἐν τῷ προσέχειν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ ἀπὸ μέρους. φάσκει δὲ οὗτος τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων δεδοσθαι, τὸν δὲ δεδωκότα τὸν νόμον ἓνα εἶναι τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν τὸν κόσμον πεποιηκότων.

28 2 3 οὗτος δὲ ἐστὶν ... εἰς τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν ταραχὴν ἐργασαμένων ...

28 5 1 Χρῶνται γὰρ τῷ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγελίῳ ...

28 5 3 τὸν δὲ Παῦλον ἀθετοῦσι διὰ τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι τῇ περιτομῇ.

28 6 1 ... φάσκει ... Χριστὸν πεπονθέναι καὶ ἐσταυρώσαι, μήπω δὲ ἐγγέρθαι, μέλλειν δὲ ἀνίστασθαι ὅταν ἡ καθόλου γένηται νεκρῶν ἀνάστασις.

Filaster

XXXVI

Cerinthus successit huius errori et similitudine vanitatis, docens de generatione itidem salvatoris deque creatura angelorum, in nullo discordans ab eo, nisi quia ex parte solum legi consentit, quod a deo data sit, et ipsum deum Iudaeorum esse aestimat qui legem dedit fillis Israel. Docet autem circumcidi et sabbatizare, et Christum nondum surrexisse a mortuis, sed resurrectionem adnuntiat. Apostolum Paulum beatum non accipit ... euangelium secundum Mattheum solum accipit, tria euangelia spernit ... His sub apostolis beatissimum quaestionem seditionis commouit, dicens debere circumcidi homines ...

Pseudo-Tertullian states that a close agreement exists between the conceptions held by Cerinthus and Carpocrates respectively. He deals with them in this order. His remarks on the creation of the world by angels and on Christ being the son of Joseph both agree with the passage about Carpocrates in Irenaeus, *adv. haer.* I 25 1. The idea of the Law having been given by angels, and of the God of the Jews being an angel, can also be found in passages dealing with Gnostic teachers.

This causes Pseudo-Tertullian to describe Cerinthus as a Gnostic, and in order to do this he quotes some typical Gnostic characteristics.

Epiphanius shows agreement with Pseudo-Tertullian in 28 1 1-2. He differs from him in saying that Cerinthus gives partial adherence to Judaism, and in identifying one of the angels, who gave the Law, with the angel who created the world.

The first deviation may be explained by Epiphanius' supposition that Cerinthus, as Paul's opponent, wished to live according to the Law. The second is due to an attempt to reconcile some loosely connected statements in Pseudo-Tertullian.

Filaster also emphasises the agreement between Carpocrates and Cerinthus. This applies to the ideas about Jesus' birth and the creation of the world by angels. The Cerinthians, however, are supposed to live according to the Law only "partially". Here we recognise the words of Epiphanius who, however, wrote about a partial adherence to Judaism. We accept this alteration as a correction made by Filaster, who uses this information in connection with the way in which the Law had been given. The reason for living according to the Law is because it was given by the God of the Jews. Here nothing is said about any connection between the angels who created the world and God who gave the Law. This must be explained as a new development when compared with the description given by Epiphanius. Filaster avoids the Gnostic idea that a law given by angels is to be ignored. His attitude must be due to fact that he was the last author to try to make sense of an incoherent remark in Pseudo-Tertullian.

Otherwise we notice his dependence on Epiphanius.

This means that the similarity cannot be explained by the use of a common source. The agreement between Epiphanius and Pseudo-Tertullian is due to Epiphanius having made use of the latter. Filaster in his turn makes use of Epiphanius. Since we do not notice any agreement between Filaster and Pseudo-Tertullian which is not also present in Epiphanius we have to accept that Filaster did not use Pseudo-Tertullian.

We must leave aside the question as to whether Pseudo-Tertullian used an unknown source. But since, as we stated above, the remarks in Pseudo-Tertullian may be traced to Irenaeus' descriptions of the Gnostics, we might suggest that in Pseudo-Tertullian we find only a passage about Cerinthus which also was composed from data taken from Irenaeus.

Pseudo-Tertullian
3

Huius successor Ebion fuit, Cerintho non in omni parte consentiens, quod a deo dicat mundum, non a angelis factum et quia scriptum sit: nemo discipulus super magistrum, nec servus super dominum, legem esse proponit, scilicet ad excludendum evangelium et vindicandum Iudaismum.

Epiphanius

30 1 1 'Εβίων, ἀφ' οὗπερ 'Εβιωναῖοι, καθεξῆς ἀκολουθῶν καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις φρονήσας ...
30 2 2 ... ἐκ παρατριβῆς καὶ σπέρματος ... τοῦ 'Ιωσήφ τὸν Χριστὸν γεγενῆσθαι ἔλεγεν.
30 26 2 ... ἀρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ εἶναι ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος
(cf. 30 33 4 and 7 and 28 5 1).

Filaster
XXXVII

Hebion discipulus eius Cerinthus, in multis ei similiter errans salutorem nostrum hominem de Ioseph natum carnaliter aestimabat, nihilque diuinitatis in eo fuisse docebat, sed sicut omnes prophetas, sic et eum gratiam dei habuisse adseribat, non tamen deum maiestatis et dei patris filium cum patre sempiternum esse credebat, cum divinae scripturae deum sempiternum cum patre vero ac sempiterno ubique testantur ac praedicant.

Pseudo-Tertullian gives us a very short passage on Ebion. He writes that Ebion is Cerinthus' *successor*. This seems to bring Cerinthus and Ebion into close connection with each other. He does not, however, make clear the nature of their agreement. He only writes that they do not agree "in every respect". Ebion rejected the idea that the world was created by angels, and wished to live according to the Law, appealing to Matth. 10, 24.

Epiphanius shows some agreement with Pseudo-Tertullian. Since he deals with the Nazoraeans before he describes the Ebionites, he is inclined to emphasize the relationship between Nazoraeans and Ebionites.

Epiphanius may depend on Pseudo-Tertullian when he writes about the disciple who is no greater than his master.

The agreement between Filaster and Pseudo-Tertullian is limited to the beginning of the passage. Filaster, who says nothing about

the Nazoraeans, writes that Ebion is Cerinthus' disciple. This assertion may be traced to Pseudo-Tertullian but, unlike this writer, he does not speak about the difference between Ebion and Cerinthus but about their agreement, as Epiphanius did. Since Filaster wrote about Cerinthus first and then dealt with Ebion, he can say that both accept Jesus as the son of Joseph. He writes about this, however, with words taken from Epiphanius.

This means that Epiphanius depends on Pseudo-Tertullian and that Filaster uses Epiphanius. Again we cannot say anything about the source of Pseudo-Tertullian.

APPENDIX II

The Relation between the Ebionites, according to Epiphanius' Description, and Elxai

	<i>Ebionites</i>	<i>Periodoi Petrou, Anabathmoi, Hom. Rec.</i>	<i>Gospel of the Ebionites</i>	<i>Elxai (IX and X refer to Hippolytus. VI refers to Eusebius)</i>	<i>Other groups</i>
<i>Christology</i>					
a. Christ descends on Jesus in form of a dove	30 3 6 30 14 4		30 13 7		
b. Son of God by virtue or election	30 18 5-6				
c. Christ a true prophet	30 18 5	Hom. Rec.			
d. Christ an archangel	30 16 4	Rec.			
e. two kingdoms, of Christ and of devil	30 16 2	Hom. Rec.			
f. Christ is Adam	30 2 3	Hom. (?)		53 1 8 cf. IX 14 1	
g. Christ is a Spirit who comes back again and again	30 3 4			X 29 2	
h. Christ is a revealer	30 18 9	Hom.			
i. Christ is of enormous size	30 17 6			19 4 1 53 1 9	
<i>Rejection of meat</i>	30 15 3	P. P. Hom.	30 13 5 30 22 4	53 1 4 19 3 6	18 1 4 (Nasar.)
<i>Purification</i>	30 2 3-5 30 15 3	P. P. Hom. Rec.		IX 13 4 IX 15 4 53 1 4	9 3 6 (Samar.)
<i>Rejection of temple and sacrifices</i>	30 16 7	Anab. Hom.	30 16 5	19 3 6	18 1 4 (Nasar.)

<i>Obligation to marry</i>	30 2 6 30 15 1-2 30 18 2	Hom.	19 1 7
<i>Rejection of kings and prophets</i>	30 15 2 30 18 4-5 and 9	P. P. Hom.	53 1 7 VI 38 (?)
<i>Repudiation of Paul</i>	30 16 8	Hom. Rec. (Simon Magus)	VI 38
<i>False pericopes</i>	30 18 7	Hom.	30 18 7 (?)
<i>Oaths</i>	30 17 4	Hom.	19 1 6 19 6 4 IX 15 2 IX 15 5

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TESTIMONIES

EPISTULA APOSTOLORUM

ed. Duensing, in: *Kleine Texte* 152

1st half 2nd cent.

1.(12) (p. 5)

Was Jesus Christus seinen Jüngern als einen Brief offenbart hat und wie Jesus Christus offenbart hat den Brief des Kollegiums der Apostel, der Jünger Jesus Christi den für alle (bestimmten), der wegen der Pseudo-apostel Simon und Kerinth geschrieben worden ist, damit niemand sich ihnen anschliesse, weil in ihnen eine List ist, mit welcher sie die Menschen töten, auf dass ihr fest seid und nicht wankt, nicht erschüttert werdet und nicht abweicht vom Worte des Evangeliums, das ihr gehört habt.

7.(18) (p. 8)

Kerinth und Simon sind gekommen, die Welt zu durchwandeln. Diese sind aber Feinde unseres Herrn Jesu Christi, (Ethiopic) die in Wirklichkeit diejenigen abwendig machen, die glauben an das wahre Wort und an die Tat, d.h. Jesum Christum. Seht euch also vor und hütet euch vor ihnen; denn in ihnen ist Bedrängnis und Befleckung und Tod. Das Ende davon wird zu Verderben und Gericht werden, (Coptic) denn sie verkehren die (Worte) und die Tat d.h. Jesum Christum. Von diesen nun haltet (ihr) euch fern; denn Tod ist nämlich in ihnen und grosse Verderbensbefleckung, diesen, denen das Gericht zuteil werden wird (und das) Ende und das Verlorensein ewiglich.

IRENAEUS

adv. haer., ed. Stieren

ca. 190

I 26 1 (p. 253-254)

Et Cerinthus autem quidam in Asia non a primo Deo factum esse mundum docuit, sed a virtute quadam valde separata et distante ab ea principalitate, quae est super universa, et ignorante eum, qui est super omnia, Deum. Iesum autem subiecit, non ex virgine natum; (impossibile enim hoc ei visum est) fuisse autem eum Ioseph et Mariae filium similiter ut reliqui omnes homines, et plus potuisse iustitia et

IRENÆUS

adv. haer.

I 26 1

And a certain Cerinthus, then, in Asia taught that the world was not made by the Supreme God but by a certain Power highly separated and far removed from that Principality who transcended the universe and which is ignorant of the one who is above all, God. He suggested that Jesus was not born of a virgin (because that seemed to him impossible), but that he was the son of Joseph and Mary in the same way as all other men but he was more versed in righteousness, prudence and

prudencia et sapientia ab hominibus. Et post baptismum descendisse in eum ab ea principalitate, quae est super omnia, Christum figura columbae; et tunc annuntiasset incognitum Patrem et virtutes perfecisset: in fine autem revolasse iterum Christum de Iesu et Iesum passum esse et resurrexisse; Christum autem impassibilem perseverasse, existentem spiritalem.

I 26 2 (p. 254-255)

Qui autem dicuntur Ebionaei consentiunt quidem mundum a Deo factum; ea autem, quae sunt erga Dominum, non similiter ut Cerinthus et Carpocrates opinantur. Solo autem eo, quod est secundum Matthaeum, evangelio utuntur et apostolum Paulum recusant, apostatam eum legis dicentes. Quae autem sunt prophetica, curiosius exponere nituntur; et circumciduntur ac perseverant in his consuetudinibus, quae sunt secundum legem, et iudaico caractere vitae, uti et Hierosolymam adorent, quasi domus sit Dei.

III 3 4 (p. 435)

Et sunt qui audierunt eum dicentem, quoniam Ioannes Domini discipulus, in Epheso iens lavari, quum vidisset intus Cerinthus exsilierit de balneo non lotus; dicens, quod timeat ne balneum concidat, quum intus esset Cerinthus inimicus veritatis.

III 11 1 (p. 462-463)

Hanc fidem annuntians Ioannes Domini discipulus, volens per evangelii annuntiationem auferre eum, qui a Cerintho insemnatus erat hominibus, errorem, et multo prius ab his qui dicuntur Nicolaitae, qui sunt vulsio eius, quae falso cognominatur scientia, ut confunderet eos et suaderet, quoniam unus Deus qui omnia fecit per verbum suum; et non, quemadmodum illi dicunt, alterum quidem fabricatorem, alium autem Patrem Domini; ...

III 11 7 (p. 467)

Ebionaei etenim eo evangelio, quod est secundum Matthaeum, solo utentes, ex illo ipso convincuntur, non recte praesumentes de Domino. Marcion autem id quod est secundum Lucam circumcidens ... Qui autem Iesum separant a Christo, et impassibilem perseverasse Christum, passum vero Iesum dicunt, id quod secundum Marcum est praeferentes

wisdom than other men. And after his baptism, Christ descended upon him from that Principality that is above all in the form of a dove. And then he proclaimed the unknown Father and performed miracles. But at last Christ flew away again from Jesus; Jesus suffered and rose again while Christ remained impassible, being a spiritual being.

I 26 2

Those who are called Ebionites, then, agree that the world was made by God; but their opinions with regard to the Lord are not similar to those of Cerinthus and Carpocrates. They use the Gospel according to Matthew only and repudiate the apostle Paul, saying that he was an apostate from the Law. As to the prophetic writings, they do their best to expound them diligently; they practice circumcision, persevere in the customs which are according to the Law and practice a Jewish way of life, even adoring Jerusalem as if it were the house of God.

III 3 4

There are also those who heard from him that John, the disciple of the Lord, going to bathe at Ephesus and seeing Cerinthus was inside, rushed out of the bath-house without having bathed, saying that he was afraid that the bath-house would fall down because Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, was inside.

III 11 1

John, the disciple of the Lord, preaches his faith and wishes by the proclamation of the Gospel to remove that error which by Cerinthus has been disseminated among men, and a long time before that by those who were called Nicolaites who are an offshoot of that knowledge falsely so called, so that he might confound them and persuade them that there is but one God who made all things by his word; and not as they say that the Creator was One, but the Father of the Lord another; ...

III 11 7

For the Ebionites, who use the Gospel according to Matthew only, are confuted of this very same book, when they make false suppositions with regard to the Lord. But Marcion, mutilating the Gospel according to Luke ... Those again who distinguish between Jesus and Christ and say that Christ cannot have suffered but that actually only Jesus

evangelium; cum amore veritatis legentes illud, corrigi possunt. Hi autem qui a Valentino sunt, eo quod est secundum Ioannem plenissime utentes ad ostensionem coniugationum suarum; ...

III 21 1 (p. 532)

... Ecce adolescentula in ventre habebit, et pariet filium;¹ quemadmodum Theodotion Ephesius est interpretatus et Aquila Ponticus, utrique Iudaei proselyti; quos sectati Ebionaei, ex Ioseph generatum eum dicunt: ...

IV 33 4 (p. 667-668)

Iudicabit autem et Ebionitas: quomodo possunt salvari, nisi Deus est qui salutem illorum super terram operatus est? Et quomodo homo transiet in Deum, si non Deus in hominem?

V 1 3 (p. 715-716)

Vani autem et Ebionaei, unionem Dei et hominis per fidem non recipientes in suam animam, sed in veteri generationis perseverantes fermento; neque intelligere volentes, quoniam Spiritus sanctus advenit in Mariam, et virtus altissimi obumbravit eam: quapropter et quod generatum est, sanctum est, et filius altissimi Dei Patris omnium,² qui operatus est incarnationem eius, et novam ostendit generationem; uti quemadmodum per priorem generationem mortem hereditavimus, sic per generationem hanc hereditaremus vitam. Reprobant itaque hi commixtionem vini caelestis, et solam aquam saecularem volunt esse, non recipientes Deum ad commixtionem suam; ...

TERTULLIAN

de praescript. haer., ed. Rauschen, in: *Flor. Patr.* IV
ca. 200

X 8 (p. 22)

Apud Valentinum? sed et Apelles hac me pronuntiatione pulsavit, et Hebion, et Simon, et omnes ordine non habent aliud, quo se mihi insinuantes me sibi adducant.

XXXIII 3-5 (p. 46)

Paulus in prima ad Corinthios notat negatores et dubitatores resur-

¹ Is. 7,14 and Matth. 1,23.

² Cf. Luke 1,35.

suffered, which means those who prefer the Gospel according to Mark: when they read it with a love of truth they can be corrected. Those, however, who are followers of Valentinus, making copious use of the Gospel according to John to show their injunctions ...

III 21 1

Behold, a young woman shall conceive and bring forth a son, as Theodotion the Ephesian has translated and Aquila of Pontus, both Jewish proselytes. The Ebionites, following these say that he was begotten by Joseph ...

IV 33 4

He will judge also the Ebionites: how can they be saved unless it was God who wrought out their salvation upon earth? Or how shall a man pass into God, unless God has passed into man?

V 1 3

Vain are also the Ebionites who do not receive by faith into their soul the union of God and man, but who remain in the old leaven of the (natural) birth; and who do not wish to understand that the Holy Spirit came in Mary, and the power of the Most High did overshadow her: therefore also what was generated, is holy and the Son of the Most High God the Father of all, who wrought his incarnation and displayed a new generation; that as by the former generation we inherited death so by this generation we might inherit life. Therefore do these men reject the commixture of the heavenly wine and wish it to be water of the world only, not receiving God so as to have union with Him ...

TERTULLIAN

de praescript. haer.

X 8

— With Valentinus? But Apelles also disturbed me with this quotation; Hebion also, and Simon, and all in turn, have no other argument wherewith to entice me, and draw me over to their side. —

XXXII 3-5

Paul, in his first epistle to the Corinthians, referred to those who

rectionis: haec opinio propria Sadducaeorum. Partem eius usurpat Marcion et Apelles et Valentinus, et si qui alii resurrectionem carnis infringunt. Et ad Galatas scribens invehitur in observatores et defensores circumcisionis et legis: Hebionis haeresis sic est.

XXXIII 11 (p. 47)

At in epistula eos maxime antichristos vocat (scil. John), qui Christum negarent in carnem venisse, et qui non putarent Iesum esse filium dei: illud Marcion, hoc Hebion vindicavit.

de virg. vel., ed. Bulhart, in: *CSEL* 76
ca. 205

6.1 (p. 88)

Videamus nunc, si et apostolus formam vocabuli istius secundum Genesim observat, sexui deputans illuc, sic mulierem vocans virginem Mariam quemadmodum et Genesis Evam. Scribens enim ad Galatas: "Misit", inquit, "deus filium suum factum ex muliere",¹ quam utique virginem constat fuisse, licet Hebion resistat.

adv. Marc., ed. Kroymann, in: *CSEL* 47
ca. 210

IV 8 (p. 437)

Nazaraeus uocari habebat secundum prophetiam Christus creatoris. unde et ipso nomine nos Iudaei Nazarenos appellant per eum.

de carne Chr., ed. E. Evans
200/212

14 (p. 50-52)

Quanto ergo, dum hominem gestat, minor angelis factus est, tanto non, dum angelum gestat. Poterit haec opinio Hebioni convenire qui nudum hominem et tantum ex semine David, id est non et dei filium, constituit Iesum-plane prophetis aliquo gloriosiore ut ita in illo angelum fuisse dicatur quemadmodum in aliquo Zacharia: ...

18 (p. 234)

Nunc et simplicius respondeamus non competabat ex semine humano

¹ Gal. 4,4.

denied and doubted the resurrection. This was the particular opinion of the Sadducees. Part of it, however, is adopted by Marcion and Apelles and Valentinus and all other impugnors of the resurrection. Writing also to the Galatians, he blazes out against those who observe and defend circumcision and the Law: This is Hebion's heresy.

XXXIII 11

But in his first epistle he especially calls those antichrists who denied that Christ had come in the flesh, and who did not think that Jesus was the Son of God: the one was maintained by Marcion, the other by Hebion.

de virg. vel.

6.1

Let us now see whether the Apostle also observed the meaning of this name in accordance with Genesis, referring it to sex; thus he calls the virgin Mary a woman, just as Genesis (does) Eve. For, writing to the Galatians, "God", he says, "sent his Son made of a woman", concerning whom it is of course an established fact that she was a virgin, albeit Hebion opposes.

adv. Marc.

IV 8

Christ had to be called Nazaraeus according to the prophecy of the Creator. Therefore also by this very name the Jews call us Nazorenes because of Him.

de carne Chr.

14

So then, even as he is made less than the angels while clothed with manhood, even so he is not less when clothed with an angel. This opinion could be very suitable for Ebion who asserts that Jesus is mere man and only of the seed of David, that means not also the Son of God; although he is obviously more glorious than the prophets — so as to say that an angel is in Him in the same way as in Zachariah.

18

Now let us give a simpler answer. It was not fit that the Son of God

dei filium nasci, ne si totus esset filius hominis. Non esset et dei filius nihilque haberet amplius Salome ne et amplius Iona, ut de Hebionis opinione credendus erat.

24 (p. 248)

Et “non ex sanguine neque ex carnis aut viri voluntate sed ex deo natus est”¹ Hebioni respondit.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

strom., ed. Stählin, in: *GCS* II

202/215

II IX 45 5 (p. 137)

ἡ καὶ τῷ καθ’ Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίῳ “ὁ θαυμάσας βασιλεύσει” γέγραπται “καὶ ὁ βασιλεύσας ἀναπαήσεται”.

V XIV 96 3 (p. 389)

ἴσον γὰρ τούτοις ἐκεῖνα δύναται· “οὐ παύσεται ὁ ζητῶν, ἕως ἄν εὕρῃ· εὕρων δὲ θαμβηθήσεται, θαμβηθεὶς δὲ βασιλεύσει, βασιλεύσας δὲ ἐπαναπαήσεται”.

HIPPOLYTUS

refutatio omn. haer., ed. Wendland, in: *GCS* III

225

Prol. VII 7-9 (p. 190)

7. “Ὅτι Κήρινθος μὴδὲν ἐκ γραφῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν Αἰγυπτίοις δοξάντων δόξαν συνεστήσατο. 8. Τίνα τὰ τοῖς Ἑβριωναίοις δοκοῦντα, καὶ ὅτι ἦθесιν Ἰουδαϊκοῖς μᾶλλον προσέχουσι. 9. Πῶς καὶ ὁ Θεόδοτος πεπλάνηται, ἃ μὲν τῶν Ἑβριωναίων ἐρανισάμενος <ἃ δὲ τοῦ Κηρίνου>.

VII 33 1-2 (p. 220-221)

1. Κήρινθος δὲ τις, αὐτὸς Αἰγυπτίων παιδείᾳ ἀσκηθεὶς, ἔλεγεν οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου <θεοῦ> γεγονέναι τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ δυνάμεως τινος κεχωρισμένης τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα ἐξουσίας καὶ ἀγνοούσης τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντα θεόν. τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν ὑπέθετο μὴ ἐκ παρθένου γεγενῆσθαι,

¹ John 1,23.

should be born of human seed lest if he were wholly Son of Man, he might not be the Son of God, and he would be nothing more than Solomon and Jonah, as in Ebion's opinion one had to believe.

24

And he answered Ebion: "Born, not of blood nor of the will of the flesh nor of the will of man but of God".

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

strom.

II IX 45 5

As it is also written in the Gospel according to the Hebrews: "He who is astonished will reign as king and he who reigned as king will rest".

V XIV 96 3

For similar to these the following is possible: "He who seeks will not rest before he finds, and he who finds will be astonished and he who was astonished will reign as king and he who reigned as king will rest".

HIPPOLYTUS

refutatio omn. haer.

Prol. VII 7-9

7. That Cerinthus formed his opinion not from the Scriptures but from the ideas of the Egyptians. 8. What are the opinions with the Ebionites and that they prefer to adhere to Jewish customs. 9. How Theodotus has been a victim of error, borrowing partly from the Ebionites (partly from Cerinthus).

VII 33 1-2

1. But a certain Cerinthus, himself being trained in the teaching of the Egyptians, said that the world was not made by the Supreme God, but by some Power which was separated from that authority which is above all and which is ignorant of the God that is above all

γεγονέναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας υἱὸν ὁμοίως τοῖς λοιποῖς ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ δικαιότερον γεγονέναι καὶ σοφώτερον. 2. καὶ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα κατελθεῖν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα αὐθεντίας τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν εἵδει περιστερᾶς, καὶ τότε κηρύξαι τὸν ἄγνωστον πατέρα καὶ δυνάμεις ἐπιτελεῖσαι, πρὸς δὲ τῷ τέλει ἀποπτῆναι τὸν Χριστὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν πεπονθέναι καὶ ἐγγεῖρθαι, τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν ἀπαθῆ διαμεμενηκέναι πνευματικὸν ὑπάρχοντα.

VII 34 1-2 (p. 221)

1. Ἐβριωνᾶιοι δὲ ὁμολογοῦσι <μὲν> τὸν κόσμον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄντως θεοῦ γεγονέναι, τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ὁμοίως τῷ Κηρίνθῳ καὶ Καρποκράτει μυθεύουσιν· ἔθελον Ἰουδαϊκοῖς ζῶσι, κατὰ νόμον φάσκοντες δικαιοῦσθαι καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγοντες δεδικαιῶσθαι ποιήσαντα τὸν νόμον. 2. διὸ καὶ Χριστὸν αὐτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ὠνομάσθαι καὶ Ἰησοῦν. ἐπεὶ μηδεὶς τῶν <ἐτέρων> ἐτέλεσε τὸν νόμον· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἕτερός τις πεποιήκει τὰ ἐν νόμῳ προστεταγμένα, ἦν ἂν ἐκεῖνος ὁ Χριστός. δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ὁμοίως ποιήσαντας Χριστοὺς γενέσθαι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸν ὁμοίως ἀνθρώπον εἶναι πᾶσι λέγουσιν.

VII 35 1-2 (p. 222)

1. Θεόδοτος δὲ τις ὢν Βυζάντιος εἰσήγαγεν αἵρεσιν καινὴν. φάσκων τὰ περὶ μὲν τῆς τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχῆς σύμφωνα ἐκ μέρους τοῖς τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐκκλησίας, ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πάντα ὁμολογῶν γεγονέναι, τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν ἐκ τῆς τῶν γνωστικῶν καὶ Κηρίνθου καὶ Ἐβριωνος σχολῆς ἀποσπάσας φάσκει τοιοῦτῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ πεφηνέναι. 2. [καὶ] τὸν μὲν Ἰησοῦν εἶναι ἀνθρώπον ἐκ παρθένου γεγεννημένον κατὰ βουλὴν τοῦ πατρὸς, βιώσαντα δὲ κοινῶς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ εὐσεβέστατον γεγονότα ὕστερον ἐπὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ κεχωρηκέναι τὸν Χριστὸν ἄνωθεν κατεληλυθότα ἐν εἵδει περιστερᾶς, ὅθεν οὐ πρότερον τὰς δυνάμεις ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνηργηκέναι ἢ ὅτε κατελθὼν ἀνεδείχθη ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ πνεῦμα, ὃ εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν προσαγορεύει. θεὸν δὲ οὐδέποτε τοῦτον γεγονέναι αὐτὸν θέλουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ καθόδῳ τοῦ πνεύματος, ἕτεροι δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν.

Prol. IX 4 (p. 240)

Τίς ἡ καινὴ ἐπιδημία τοῦ ξένου δαίμονος Ἠλχασατ, καὶ ὅτι σκέπη

things. And he supposed that Jesus was not born of a virgin, but that he was born of Joseph and Mary, a son similar to all other men, and that he was more righteous and wiser. 2. After the baptism, Christ came down upon him in the form of a dove, from that sovereignty which is above all. And then he preached the unknown Father and performed miracles. Ultimately Christ flew away from Jesus suffered and rose again but Christ, being spiritual, remained impervious to suffering.

VII 34 1-2

1. The Ebionites acknowledge that the world was made by the true God, but they fabulate concerning the Christ like Cerinthus and Carpocrates. They live conformably to Jewish customs saying that they are justified according to the Law, and saying that Jesus was justified by practicing the Law. 2. Therefore it was that he was named both the Christ of God and Jesus, since not one of the (rest) kept the Law. For if any other had practiced the commandments of the Law, he would have been the Christ. And they themselves also, having done the same, are able to become Christs; for they say that he himself was a man like all.

VII 35 1-2

1. But there was a certain Theodotus of Byzantium, who introduced a new heresy. He announced ideas concerning the beginning of the universe which are partly in keeping with those of the true church in so far as he acknowledged that all things were created by God. Taking his ideas about Christ from the school of the Gnostics, of Cerinthus and Ebion, he said that he appeared in the following way. 2. Jesus was a man born of a virgin according to the counsel of the Father. He lived together with all men and became pre-eminently pious. He subsequently, at his baptism in the river Jordan received Christ from above, who descended in the form of a dove. And this was the reason why powers did not operate in him prior to the manifestation in him of that Spirit which descended and which proclaimed him to be Christ. But some want him never to have been made God by the descent of the Spirit, but others say that it happened after his resurrection from the dead.

Prol. IX 4

What was the recent arrival of the strange demon Elchasai and that he used as a concealment of his particular errors his apparent adhesion

τῶν ἰδίων σφαλμάτων τὸ δοκεῖν προσέχειν νόμῳ, τῷ δὲ ὄντι γνωστικοῖς δόγμασιν ἢ καὶ ἀστρολογικοῖς καὶ μαγείαις πρόσκειται.

IX 13 1-17 2 (p. 251-255)

13.1. Τούτου κατὰ πάντα τὸν κόσμον διηχηθείσης τῆς διδασκαλίας, ἐνιδὼν τὴν πραγματείαν ἀνὴρ δόλιος καὶ ἀπονοίας γέμων, Ἀλκιβιάδης τις καλούμενος, οἰκῶν ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ τῆς Συρίας, γοργότερον ἑαυτὸν καὶ εὐφύεστερον ἐν κυβείαις κρίνας τοῦ Καλλίστου, ἐπῆλθε τῇ Ῥώμῃ φέρων βίβλον τινά, φάσκων ταύτην ἀπὸ Σηρῶν τῆς Παρθίας παρελθέναι τινὰ ἄνδρα δίκαιον Ἠλχασαῖ, ἣν 2. παρέδωκεν τινι λεγομένῳ Σοβιαί, χρηματισθεῖσαν ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου, οὗ τὸ ὕψος σχοινίων κδ, ὃ γίνεται μίλια Ϛ, τὸ δὲ πλάτος αὐτοῦ σχοινίων δ, καὶ ἀπὸ ὦμου εἰς ὦμον σχοινίων Ϛ, τὰ δὲ ἔχνη τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ μῆκος σχοινίων γ ἡμίσιους, ἃ γίνεται μίλια δεκατέσσαρα, τὸ δὲ σὺν πλάτος σχοίνου ἐνὸς ἡμίσιους, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἡμισχοινίου, εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ θήλειαν, ἥς τὰ μέτρα κατὰ τὰ προειρημένα εἶναι λέγει· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄρσενά υἱὸν εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ, τὴν δὲ θήλειαν καλεῖσθαι ἅγιον πνεῦμα. ταῦτα τερατολογῶν νομίζει ταρασσεῖν τοὺς μωροὺς, λέγων λόγον τοῦτον· εὐηγγελίσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καινὴν ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν ἐπὶ 4. Τραϊανοῦ βασιλείας τρίτῳ, καὶ βάπτισμα ὀρίζει, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ διηγῆσομαι, φάσκων τοὺς ἐν πάσῃ ἀσελγείᾳ καὶ μiasmῶ καὶ ἀνομήμασιν ἐμφυρέντας, εἰ καὶ πιστὸς εἴη, ἐπιστρέψαντα καὶ τῆς βίβλου κατακούσαντα καὶ πιστεύσαντα, [ὀρίζει] βαπτίσματι λαμβάνειν ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. ταῦτα δὲ ἐτόλμησε τεχνάσαι τὰ πανουργήματα ἀπὸ τοῦ προειρημένου δόγματος ἀφορμὴν λαβὼν, οὗ παρεστήσατο Κάλλιστος. 5. ἡδομένους γὰρ κατανοήσας πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ ἐπαγγελίᾳ εὐκαίρως ἐνόμισεν ἐπιχειρεῖν. καὶ τούτῳ δὲ ἡμεῖς ἀντιστάντες οὐκ εἰάσαμεν ἐπὶ πολὺ πλανηθῆναι πολλοὺς, ἐλέγξαντες εἶναι τοῦτο πνεύματος νόθου ἐνέργειαν καὶ ἐπίνοιαν πεφυσιωμένης καρδίας, καὶ τοῦτον λύκου δίκην ἐπεγηγερμένον πλανωμένοις προβάτοις πολλοῖς, <ἃ> ἀποπλανῶν διεσκόρπισεν ὁ Κάλλιστος. 6. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἡρξάμεθα, καὶ τὰ τούτου δόγματα οὐ σιωπήσομεν, εἰς φανερόν δὲ ἀγαγόντες πρότερον τὸν βίον καὶ δείξαντες τὴν νομιζομένην ἀσκησιν προσποιητὴν ὑπάρχουσιν, αἰθῆς καὶ τῶν ῥητῶν κεφάλαια παραθήσομαι, ἵνα τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐγγράφοις ὃ ἐντυγχάνων ἐνατενίσας ἐπιγνοίῃ, τίς καὶ ὁποία εἴη ἢ τούτῳ τετολημμένη αἵρεσις.

to the Law but in reality he devotes himself to the ideas of the Gnostics, or even those of astrologists and the magicians.

IX 13 1-17 2

13.1 When his doctrine had been spread about throughout the entire world, a cunning man and full of desperation, one called Alcibiades, living in Apamea, a city of Syria, examined carefully into his business. And considering himself a more formidable character more ingenious in tricks than Callistus, he went to Rome. He brought with him some book, alleging, that a certain righteous man, Elchasai, had received this from the Seres of Parthia. 2. And that he gave it to one called Sobiai and that it had been revealed by an angel whose height was 24 schoenoi, which makes 96 miles, and whose breath was 4 schoenoi, and from shoulder to shoulder 6 schoenoi; and the tracks of his feet extend to the length of three and a half schoenoi which make 14 miles, while the breadth is one and a half schoenos and the height half a schoenos. 3. There should also be a female with him whose dimensions, he says, are according to those already mentioned. The male is the son of God but the female is called the Holy Spirit. By telling these marvels he imagines that he confounds fools by adding this story: 4. There was preached unto men a new remission of sins in the third year of Trajan's reign. And he ordained a baptism which I also shall explain. He alleges that anyone who had been involved in all kinds of lasciviousness, filthiness and wickedness — if only he is a believer — when he has been converted, after having obeyed the book and believed it, he receives remission of sins by baptism. He ventured to make use of these knaveries inspired by the aforesaid idea which Callistus commended. 5. For, perceiving that many were delighted at this sort of promise, he considered that it was a good opportunity to make an attempt. And since we offered resistance to this man, we did not permit many for any length of time to be deluded. For we were convinced that this was the work of a spurious spirit, and the invention of a puffed-up heart. Like a wolf he had risen up against many wandering sheep which Callistus with his deceits had scattered abroad. 6. But since we have commenced, we also shall not be silent regarding the opinions of this man. After having exposed his former life and shown that this supposed ascetism is hypocritical I shall now give an account of the essential points of his words in order that those who happen to read his writings, may see what was this heresy which he took heart to adopt.

14.1 Οὗτος νόμου πολιτείαν προβάλλεται δελεάσματος δίκην, φάσκων δεῖν περιτέμεσθαι καὶ κατὰ νόμον ζῆν τοὺς πεπιστευκότας, ἀποσπῶν τινα τῶν προειρημένων αἱρέσεων. τὸν Χριστὸν δὲ λέγει ἄνθρωπον κοινῶς πᾶσι γεγονέναι, τοῦτον δὲ οὐ νῦν πρῶτως ἐκ παρθένου γεγεννησθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ αὖθις πολλάκις γεννηθέντα καὶ γεννώμενον πεφηνέναι καὶ φύεσθαι, ἀλλάσσοντα γενέσεις καὶ μετενσωματούμενον, ἐκείνῳ τῷ Πυθαγορείῳ δόγματι χρώμενος. τοσοῦτον δὲ πεφυσίωνται, 2. ὡς καὶ προγνωστικούς ἑαυτοὺς λέγειν, δηλον<ὅτι> μέτροις καὶ ἀριθμοῖς τῆς προειρημένης Πυθαγορείου τέχνης ἀφορμαῖς χρωμένους. οὗτοι καὶ μαθηματικοὶς καὶ ἀστρολογικοῖς καὶ μαγικοῖς προσέχουσιν ὡς ἀληθείαι, καὶ τούτοις χρώμενοι ταρασσουσι τοὺς ἄφρονας νομίζειν αὐτοὺς λόγου δυνατοῦ μετέχειν· 3. ἐπαοιδὰς τε καὶ ἐπιλόγους τινὰς διδάσκουσι πρὸς τε κυνοδῆκτους καὶ δαιμονιῶντας καὶ ἐτέραις νόσοις κατεχομένους, ὧν οὐδὲ ταῦτα σιωπήσομεν. ἱκανῶς οὖν τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῶν διηγησάμενος τὰς τε αἰτίας τῶν τολμημάτων, παρελεύσομαι ἐπιδιηγησόμενος τὰ ἔγγραφα, δι' ὧν εἰσονται οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες τὸν τε λῆρον καὶ τὰ ἄθεα αὐτῶν ἐπιχειρήματα.

15.1 Τὸ μὲν οὖν βάπτισμα τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτ' ἐνοῖς οὕτως παραδίδωσι, τοιαύδε λέγων τοῖς ἀπατωμένοις· εἴ τις οὖν, τέκνα, ἐπλησίασεν οἰωδῆποτε ζώῳ ἢ ἄρρени ἢ ἀδελφῇ ἢ θυγατρὶ, ἢ ἐμοίχευσεν ἢ ἐπόρνευσε, καὶ θέλει ἄφεσιν λαβεῖν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, ἀφ' οὗ ἂν ἀκούσῃ τῆς βίβλου ταύτης, βαπτισάσθω ἐκ δευτέρου ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ὑψίστου θεοῦ καὶ ἐν ὀνόματι υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, <τοῦ> μεγάλου βασιλέως. 2. <καὶ> καθαρισάτω καὶ ἀγνευσάτω καὶ ἐπιμαρτυρησάσθω αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐπτὰ μάρτυρας γεγραμμένους ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ ταύτῃ, τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἅγια καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους τῆς προσευχῆς καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον καὶ τὸ ἅλας καὶ τὴν γῆν. ταῦτα τὰ θαυμάσια μυστήρια τοῦ Ἡλχασαῖ τὰ ἀπόρρητα καὶ μεγάλα, ἃ παραδίδωσι τοῖς ἀξίοις μαθηταῖς· οἷς οὐκ ἀρκεῖται ὁ ἄνομος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δύο καὶ τριῶν μαρτύρων ἐνσφραγίζει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κακά, πάλιν οὕτως λέγων· 3. πάλιν λέγω, ὦ μοιχοὶ καὶ μοιχαλίδες καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται, ἐὰν θέλητε ἐπιστρέφειν ἵνα ἀφεθῇσωνται ὑμῖν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι, καὶ ὑμῖν εἰρήνη καὶ μέρος μετὰ τῶν δικαίων, ἀφ' οὗ ἂν ἀκούσητε τῆς βίβλου ταύτης καὶ βαπτισθῇτε ἐκ δευτέρου σὺν τοῖς ἐνδύμασιν. 4. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐπαοιδαὶς τούτους εἵπομεν χρῆσθαι ἐπὶ τε κυνοδῆκτων καὶ ἐτέρων, δεῖξομεν· λέγει δὲ οὕτως· ἄν

14.1. He pretends to live according to the Law, saying that believers ought to be circumcised and live according to the Law, as an enticement, thus taking over some things from the aforesaid heresies. And he asserts that Christ was born a man in the same way common to all, and that he was not at this time born for the first time of a virgin but that, having been previously born and being re-born, he thus appeared and exists, undergoing alterations of birth and moving from body to body. He adopted that Pythagorean idea. 2. And they are puffed up to such an extent that they even affirm themselves to be endowed with the power of foretelling the future, using as a starting-point, obviously, measures and numbers of the aforesaid Pythagorean art. These also attach themselves to ideas of mathematics, astrologers and magicians as if they were true. And since they make use of these they confuse silly people so as to make them suppose that they share in a powerful doctrine. 3. And they teach certain incantations and formularies for those who have been bitten by dogs and possessed of demons and stricken with other diseases. About this we shall not be silent. Having then sufficiently explained their principles and the origins of their most daring ideas, I shall pass on to give an account to their writings, through which the readers will become acquainted with their vain and godless efforts.

15.1. To those, then, that have been ... by him, he dispenses baptism in this manner, addressing to his victims in some such words as the following: If, therefore, children, somebody has had intercourse with any sort of animal whatsoever, male, sister or daughter or has committed adultery or been guilty of fornication and is desirous of obtaining remission of sins, from the moment that he has listened to this book let him be baptized a second time in the name of the great and the most high God and in the name of his son, the mighty king. 2. And let he himself purify and cleanse himself and let him call upon those seven witnesses that have been described in this book, heaven, water, the holy spirits, the angels of prayer, oil, salt and the earth. These constitute the astonishing, ineffable and great mysteries of Elchasai which he reveals to worthy pupils. And with these that lawless man is not satisfied, but in the presence of two or three witnesses he puts the seal to his own wickedness, going on to say this: 3. Again I say, o adulterers and adulteresses and false prophets, if you are desirous of being converted that your sins may be forgiven you, to you also will be peace and you will receive a portion with the just

τιν' οὖν ἄνδρα ἢ γυναῖκα ἢ νεώτερον ἢ νεωτέραν κύων λυσσῶν καὶ μαινομενος, ἐν ᾧ ἐστι πνεῦμα διαφθορᾶς, δάκη ἢ περι[σχ]ίση ἢ προσψαύση, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ δραμέτω σὺν παντὶ τῷ φορέματι καὶ καταβὰς εἰς ποταμὸν ἢ εἰς πηγὴν, ὅπου ἐὰν ἡ τόπος βαθύς, 5. βαπτισάσθω <σὺν> παντὶ τῷ φορέματι αὐτοῦ καὶ προσευξάσθω τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ ὑψίστῳ θεῷ ἐν καρδίας πίστει, καὶ τότε ἐπιμαρτυρη[σά]σθω τοὺς ἐπτά μάρτυρας τοὺς γεγραμμένους ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ ταύτῃ· ἰδοὺ μαρτύρομαι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἅγια καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους τῆς προσευχῆς καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον καὶ τὸ ἄλας καὶ τὴν γῆν. 6. τούτους τοὺς ἐπτά μάρτυρας μαρτύρομαι, ὅτι οὐκέτι ἁμαρτήσω, οὐ μοιχεύσω, οὐ κλέψω, οὐκ ἁδικήσω, οὐ πλεονεκτήσω, οὐ μισήσω, οὐκ ἁθετήσω οὐδὲ ἐν πᾶσι πονηροῖς εὐδοκήσω. ταῦτα οὖν εἰπὼν βαπτισάσθω σὺν παντὶ τῷ φορέματι αὐτοῦ ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ὑψίστου θεοῦ.

16.1. “Ἔτερα δὲ πλεῖστα φλυαρεῖ, ταῦτά καὶ ἐπὶ φθισικοῖς ἐπιλέγειν διδάσκων καὶ βαπτίζεσθαι ἐν ψυχρῷ τεσσαρακοντάκις ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἐπτά, ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ δαιμονῶντας. ὦ σοφίας ἀμιμήτου καὶ ἐπαοιδῶν δυνάμεων μεμεστωμένων. τίς οὐκ ἐκπλαγῆσεται τῇ τοιαύτῃ καὶ τοσαύτῃ δυνάμει τῶν λόγων ; ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀστρολογικῇ πλάνῃ κεχρησθαι αὐτοὺς ἔφημεν, ἐξ αὐτῶν δείξομεν· 2. φησὶ γὰρ οὕτως· εἰσὶν ἀστέρες πονηροὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας. τοῦτο νῦν ὑμῖν εἴρηται, εὐσεβεῖς καὶ μαθηταί· φυλάσσεσθε ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ ποιεῖτε τὴν καταρχὴν τῶν ἔργων ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῶν, καὶ μὴ βαπτίζετε ἄνδρα ἢ γυναῖκα ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτῶν, ὅποταν διαπορεύηται ἐξ αὐτῶν ἡ σελήνη καὶ συνοδεύῃ αὐτοῖς. 3. αὐτὴν τὴν ἡμέραν φυλάσσεσθε, ἕως οὗ ἐκπορεύεται ἀπ’ αὐτῶν, καὶ τότε βαπτίζετε καὶ ἐνάρχεσθε ἐν πάσῃ ἀρχῇ τῶν ἔργων ὑμῶν. ἔτι δὲ τιμήσατε τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ σαββάτου, ἐπειδὴ ἐστὶν ἡμέρα μία ἐξ αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τρίτην σαββάτου φυλάσσεσθε μὴ κατάρχεσθαι, 4. ἐπειδὴ πάλιν πληρουμένων τριῶν ἐτῶν Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀφ’ ὅτε ὑπέταξεν ἑαυτοῦ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοὺς Πάρθους, ὅτε ἐπληρώθη τρία ἔτη, ἀγγρίζεται ὁ πόλεμος μεταξὺ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῆς ἀσεβείας τῶν ἄρκτων· διὰ τοῦτο ταράσσονται πᾶσαι βασιλεῖαι τῆς ἀσεβείας.

as soon as you listen to this book and are baptized a second time with your garments on. 4. But since we have stated that they use incantations for those bitten by dogs and for others, we shall explain this. He says the following: If a dog which is rabid and mad and has a spirit of destruction, bites, lacerates or touches any man, woman, youth or girl, in the same hour let such a one run fully clothed and go down to a river or a fountain wherever there is a deep spot, 5. and let him be baptized with all his clothes on and pray to the great and most-high God in faith of heart and let him than call upon the seven witnesses described in this book: See, I call to witness heaven, water, the holy spirits, angels of prayer, oil, salt and earth. 6. I testify by these seven witnesses that no more will I sinn, nor commit adultery, or steal or be guilty of injustice or be covetous, or hate or be scornful; nor will I take pleasure in any wickedness. Having uttered these words let such a one be baptized fully clothed in the name of the great and the most high God.

16.1. And in very many other respects he talks folly, teaching the use of these same sentences also for those afflicted with consumption and adding that they shall be baptized in cold water forty times during seven days. And he prescribes the same for those possessed of demons. Oh inimitable wisdom and incantations full of powers! Who will not be astonished at such and such a force of words? But since we have stated that they also use astrological deception, we shall bring proofs from that angle too. 2. For he speaks thus: There exist wicked stars of impiety. This we have said to you, pious ones and pupils. Beware of the power of the days when they are influential and engage not in the commencement of any work on their days. And baptize no man or woman on the days of their power when the moon coming from their side takes its course and travels along with them. 3. Beware of the very day until that day on which it passes out from these and then baptize and embark upon the beginning of your works. But honour the day of the Sabbath, since this is the day of one of those. 4. Take care, however, not to commence the third day of the week for when three years of the reign of the emperor Trajan are again completed from the time that he subjected the Parthians to his own sway — when three years have been completed, war rages between the impious angels of the north. On this account all the kingdoms of impiety are in a state of confusion.

17.1. Ταῦτα τοίνυν τὰ [μεγάλα] καὶ ἀπόρρητα μυστήρια ἄλογον ἡγούμενος καταπατεῖσθαι ἢ εἰς πολλοὺς παραδίδοσθαι, συμβουλευεῖ ὥς πολυτελεῖς μαργαρίτας φυλάσσειν οὕτω λέγων· τοῦτον δὲ τὸν λόγον μὴ ἀναγινώσκετε πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ ταύτας τὰς ἐντολὰς φυλάξατε ἐπιμελῶς, ὅτι οὐ πάντες ἄνδρες πιστοὶ οὐδὲ πᾶσαι γυναῖκες ὀρθαί. 2. ταῦτα δὲ οὐδὲ Αἰγυπτίων σοφοὶ ἐν ἀδύτοις ἐχώρησαν, οὐδὲ ὁ σοφὸς Ἑλλήνων Πυθαγόρας ἐχώρησεν. εἰ γὰρ τετυχῇκει κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ Ἡλχασαῖ, τίς ἀνάγκη Πυθαγόραν ἢ Θαλῆν ἢ Σόλωνα ἢ τὸν σοφὸν Πλάτωνα ἢ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς Ἑλλήνων σοφοὺς μαθητεύειν Αἰγυπτίων ἱερεῦσιν ἔχουσι τὴν τοιαύτην καὶ τοσαύτην σοφίαν παρὰ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, [ᾧ] τῷ θαυμασιωτάτῳ ἑρμηνεῖ τοῦ δυστήνου Ἡλχασαῖ;

X 21 1-3 (p. 281)

1. Κηρίνθος δέ, ὁ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἀσκηθεὶς αὐτὸς οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου θεοῦ τὸν κόσμον γεγενῆσθαι ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δυνάμεώς τινος ἀγγελικῆς, πολὺ κεχωρισμένης καὶ διεστώσης τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα αὐθεντίας καὶ ἀγνοούσης τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντα θεόν. 2. τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν λέγει μὴ ἐκ παρθένου γεγενῆσθαι, γεγενῆσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας υἱὸν ὁμοίως τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ διενηνοχῆσθαι ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ συνέσει ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς λοιπούς. 3. καὶ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα κατεληλυθῆναι εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα αὐθεντίας τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν εἵδει περιστερᾶς, καὶ τότε κηρυῖξαι τὸν ἄγνωστον πατέρα καὶ δυνάμεις ἐπιτελέσαι, πρὸς δὲ τῷ τέλει τοῦ πάθους ἀποπτῆναι τὸν Χριστὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· πεπονθῆναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν ἀπαθῇ μεμενηκῆναι, πνεῦμα κυρίου ὑπάρχοντα.

X 22 1 (p. 281)

Ἐβριναῖοι δὲ τὸν μὲν κόσμον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄντως θεοῦ γεγενῆσθαι λέγουσι, τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν ὁμοίως Κηρίνθῳ. ζῶσι δὲ πάντα κατὰ νόμον Μωϋσοῦ, οὕτω φάσκοντες δικαιοῦσθαι.

X 23 1-2 (p. 282)

Θεόδοτος δὲ ὁ Βυζάντιος εἰσηγήσατο αἵρεσιν τοιάνδε, φάσκων τὰ μὲν ὅλα ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄντως θεοῦ γεγενῆσθαι, τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν ὁμοίως τοῖς προειρημένοις γνωστικοῖς φάσκει τοιούτῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ πεφηνῆσθαι· εἶναι δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν κ[οι]νὸν ἄνθρωπον πᾶσιν, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ διαφέρειν, ὅτι κατὰ βουλὴν θεοῦ γεγέννηται ἐκ παρθένου ἐπισκιάσαντος τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος,

17.1. Inasmuch as he considers that it would be an insult to reason that these great and ineffable mysteries should be trampled under foot or that they should be handed down to many, he advises that they should be preserved as valuable pearls, saying this: Do not read this word to all men and guard carefully these precepts because all men are not faithful nor are all women straightforward. 2. These things did not stow away the wise men of the Egyptians in shrines nor did Pythagoras the wise man of the Greeks. For if at that time Elchasai had happened to live, what necessity would there be that Pythagoras, Thales, Solon or the wise Plato or even the rest of the wise men of the Greeks, should become pupils of the Egyptian priests when they could obtain possession of such and so great a wisdom from Alcibiades the most astonishing interpreter of the wretched Elchasai?

X 21 1-3

1. Cerinthus himself having been trained in Egypt did not want that the world was made by the first God but by a certain angelic power far removed and distant from that sovereignty which is above all and which is ignorant of the God that is above all things. 2. And he says that Jesus was not born of a virgin but of Joseph and Mary as their son similar to the rest of men; and that he excelled in justice, prudence and understanding above all the rest. 3. After the baptism Christ came down upon him in the form of a dove from the sovereignty which is above the all. And then he preached the unknown God and performed miracles. At the conclusion of his passion Christ hastened back from Jesus. Jesus suffered but Christ remained impervious to suffering being a spirit of the Lord.

X 22 1

But the Ebionites say that the world was made by the true God and they speak of Christ in a similar manner, with Cerinthus. They live, however, in all respects according to the Law of Moses saying that they are thus justified.

X 23 1-2

1. But Theodotus of Byzantium introduced the following heresy saying the All was created by the true God. But he says that Christ in a manner similar to that asserted by the Gnostics mentioned above, made his appearance in such a way that Christ is a man like everybody but he surpasses them in this respect that, according to the counsel

οὐκ ἐν τῇ παρθένῳ σαρκωθέντα· ὕστερον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος κατεληλυθέναι τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐν εἵδει περιστερᾶς, ὅθεν φασὶ μὴ πρότερον τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῷ ἐνεργηθῆναι. θεὸν δὲ οὐκ εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν θέλει. καὶ τοιαῦτα Θεόδοτος.

X 29 1-3 (p. 284)

Ἔτεροι δὲ τινες ὡς καινόν τι παρεισάγοντες ἐκ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἐρανισάμενοι, ξένην βίβλον σκευάσαντες Ἠλχασαῖ τινος ἐπονομαζόμενην, οὗτοι τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς τοῦ παντὸς ὁμοίως ὁμολογοῦσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονέναι, Χριστὸν δὲ ἓνα οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσιν, ἀλλ' εἶναι τὸν μὲν ἄνω ἓνα, αὐτὸν δὲ μεταγγιζόμενον ἐν σώμασι πολλοῖς πολλάκις καὶ νῦν δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὁμοίως [π]οτὲ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγενῆσθαι, ποτὲ δὲ πνεῦμα γεγονέναι, ποτὲ δὲ ἐκ παρθένου, ποτὲ δὲ οὐ· καὶ τοῦτον δὲ μετέπειτα αἰεὶ ἐν σώμασι μεταγγίζεσθαι καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς κατὰ καιροὺς δείκνυσθαι. χρῶνται δὲ ἐπα[οι]δαῖς καὶ βαπτίσμασιν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν στοιχείων ὁμολογίᾳ. σεσόβηνται δὲ περὶ[ἀστρ]ολογίαν καὶ μαθηματικὴν καὶ μαγικὴν. προγνωστικούς δὲ ἑαυτοὺς λέγουσιν.

contra Noetum, ed. Schwartz

XI (p. 13)

εἰ οὖν τὰ πάντα εἰς ἓνα ἀνατρέχει καὶ κατὰ Οὐαλεντίνον καὶ κατὰ Μαρκίωνα, Κήρινθον τε καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκείνων φλυαρίαν, καὶ ἄκοντες εἰς τοῦτο περιέπεσεν, ἵνα τὸν ἓνα ὁμολογήσωσιν αἷτιον τῶν πάντων· ἄρα συντρέχουσιν καὶ αὐτοὶ μὴ θέλοντες τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἓνα Θεὸν λέγειν ποιήσαντα ὡς ἠθέλησεν.

PSEUDO-TERTULLIAN

adv. omn. haer., ed. Kroymann, in: *CSEL* 47
200/250 (?)

3 (p. 219)

Cerinthus haereticus erupit, similia docens. nam et ipse mundum institutum esse ab angelis dicit; Christum ex semine Ioseph natum proponit, hominem illum tantummodo sine diuinitate contendens, ipsam quoque legem angelis datam perhibens, Iudaeorum deum non

of God, he was born of a virgin since the Holy Spirit overshadowed her. 2. He did not assume flesh in the virgin but afterwards Christ descended upon Jesus at his baptism in the form of a dove. Therefore they say that at first powers did not operate in him. He does not want that Christ is God. And such are the ideas of Theodotus.

X 29 1-3

1. But certain others, introducing as it were something new and borrowing from all heresies procured a strange book which bore the name of Elchasai. These, in like manner, acknowledge that the principles of the universe came into being by God. 2. They do not confess, however, that there is but one Christ, but that there is one above and that he is infused into many bodies frequently and now is in Jesus. And, in like manner, he was begotten of God at one time and at another time he became a Spirit and at another time was born of a virgin and at another time not so.

And he was afterwards continually infused into bodies and was manifested in many people at different times. 3. And they use incantations and baptisms in their acceptance of the elements. And they occupy themselves actively with astrology, mathematics and magic. And they say of themselves that they have foreknowledge.

contra Noetum

XI

If, then, everything comes back to the One, according to Valentine, Marcion, Cerinthus and all their nonsense, then they arrive at his conclusion against their will in order to be able to confess the One is the cause of everything. Thus they agree although they do not want to say in truth that the one God created according to his own will.

PSEUDO TERTULLIAN

adv. omn. haer.

3

Cerinthus, the heretic, suddenly appeared teaching similarly. For he too says that the world was set up by angels; he sets forth that Christ was born of the seed of Joseph, contending that he was merely human, without divinity; affirming also that the Law was given by angels;

dominum, sed angelum promens. huius successor Ebion fuit, Cerintho non in omni parte consentiens, quod a deo dicat mundum, non ab angelis factum. et quia scriptum sit: “nemo discipulus super magistrum, nec seruus super dominum”,¹ legem esse proponit, scilicet ad excludendum euangelium et uindicandum Iudaismum.

ORIGEN

de princ., ed. Koetschau, in: *GCS V*
after 225/230

I praef. 8 (p. 14-15)

Si vero quis velit nobis proferre ex illo libello, qui Petri Doctrina appellatur, ubi salvator videtur ad discipulos dicere: “Non sum daemoneum incorporeum”, primo respondendum est ei quoniam liber ipse inter libros ecclesiasticos non habetur, et ostendendum quia neque Petri est ipsa scriptura neque alterius cuiusquam, qui spiritu dei fuerit inspiratus.

IV 3 8 (p. 333-334)

Edocti igitur ab eo quia sit alius Israhel secundum carnem, et alius secundum spiritum, cum dicit salvator quia “non sum missus nisi ad oves perditas domus Israhel”,² non ita accipimus sicut hi, qui terrena sapiunt, id est Hebionitae, qui etiam ipso nomine pauperes appellantur (Hebion namque pauper apud Hebraeos interpretaetur), sed intellegimus genus esse animarum, quae Israhel nominantur, secundum quod et nominis ipsius designat interpretaatio: Israhel namque mens videns deum vel homo videns deum interpretaetur.

Εἰ δὴ πλητικά ἐστι τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τῶν φυλῶν καὶ τῶν δήμων αὐτοῦ ἡμῖν εἰρημένα, ἐπὶ φάσκει ὁ σωτὴρ. „οὐκ ἀπεστάλην εἰ μὴ εἰς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ,,³ οὐκ ἐκλαμβάνομεν ταῦτα ὡς οἱ πτωχοὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ Ἑβριναῖοι, τῆς πτωχότης διανοίας ἐπώνυμοι [ἐβρίων γὰρ ὁ πτωχὸς παρ' Ἑβραίοις ὀνομάζεται], ὥστε ὑπολαβεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς σαρκίους Ἰσραηλίτας προηγουμένως τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπιδεδημηκέναι „οὐ, γὰρ „τὰ τέκνα τῆς σαρκὸς ταῦτα τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ,,³

¹ Matth. 10,24.

² Cf. Matth. 10,6.

³ Rom. 9,8.

expressing the idea that the God of the Jews was not the Lord but an angel.

His successor was Ebion, not in agreement with Cerinthus in every point, because he says that the world was made by God, not by angels, and because it is written, no disciple is above (his) master, nor a servant above (his) lord, he brings to the fore likewise the Law, of course for the purpose of excluding the gospel and vindicating Judaism.

ORIGEN

de princ.

I praeef. 8

If somebody really wishes to set before us something from that book which is called the Doctrine of Peter in which the Saviour seems to say to the disciples: "I am not a demon without a body", then one has to answer him first of all that that book is not reckoned among the ecclesiastical books and one has to show that this same book is not Peter's nor by some other inspired by the Spirit of God.

IV 3 8

Therefore since we are taught by him — because there is one Israel according to the flesh and an other according to the Spirit — we do not accept what the Lord says "I was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel", like those who are wise in earthly matters which means the Ebionites who are called by this very name "poor ones" (for Hebion means "poor" in Hebrew) but we understand this as the kind of souls which is called Israel according to what this very word can also mean: for Israel is interpreted as "mind seeing God" or "man seeing God".

If what has been said to us about Israel, its tribes and families, is meant to impress us, when the Saviour says: "I was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel", we do not understand this like the Ebionites, poor of understanding, so-called after their poverty of understanding (because Ebion signifies "poor" with the Hebrews) so that we should suppose that Christ especially dwelt among the carnal Israelites, for "the children of the flesh are not the children of God".

in Joh., ed. Preuschen, in: *GCS IV*
before 228

II 12 (p. 67)

Ἐὰν δὲ προσιῇται τις τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον, ἔνθα αὐτὸς ὁ σωτὴρ φησιν· „Ἄρτι ἔλαβέ με ἡ μήτηρ μου, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ἐν μιᾷ τῶν τριχῶν μου καὶ ἀπήνεγκέ με εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ μέγα Θαβώρ,,, ἐπαπορήσει, πῶς „μήτηρ,, Χριστοῦ τὸ διὰ τοῦ λόγου γεγεννημένον „πνεῦμα ἅγιον,, εἶναι δύναται.

hom. in Luc., ed. Rauer, in : *GCS IX*
ca. 235

I 1 (p. 4-5)

Ecclesia quatuor habet evangelia, haeresis plurima, e quibus quoddam scribitur secundum Aegyptios, aliud juxta Duodecim Apostolos.

XVII (p. 115)

Virgo mater est, signum est, cui contradicitur: Marcionitae contradicunt huic signo et aiunt penitus eum de muliere non esse generatum; Hebionitae contradicunt signo, dicentes ex viro et muliere ita natum esse, ut nos quoque nascimur.

hom. in Gen., ed. Baehrens, in: *GCS VI*
ca. 244

III 5 (p. 44)

... quia non solum carnales Iudaei de circumcisione carnis revincendi sunt nobis, sed et nonnulli ex his, qui Christi nomen videntur suscepisse et tamen carnalem circumcisionem recipiendam putant, ut Ebionitae et si qui his simili paupertate sensus oberrant.

hom. in Jer., ed. Klostermann, in: *GCS III*
ca. 244

XV 4 (p. 128)

εἰ δέ τις παραδέχεται τὸ „ἄρτι ἔλαβέ με ἡ μήτηρ μου τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, καὶ ἀνήνεγκέ με εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ μέγα τὸ Θαβώρ,, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, δύναται αὐτοῦ ἰδεῖν τὴν μητέρα.

XIX 12 (p. 167)

ἀναγράφεται δὲ ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσιν ὅτι ἐπάταξέ τις τὸν Παῦλον

in Joh.

II 12

If somebody accepts the Gospel according to the Hebrews, where the Saviour himself says: "My mother the Holy Spirit took me by one of my hairs and brought me to the great hill, the Thabor" he will doubt how the mother of Christ can be the Holy Spirit which came into being through the Word.

hom. in Luc.

I 1

The church has four Gospels, the heresies have more, of which one is written under the name "according to the Egyptians", and another "according to the Twelve Apostles".

XVII

The Virgin is mother, this is a sign which is contradicted: the Marcionites contradict this sign and say that he was not generated by a woman at all; the Hebionites contradict the sign saying that he was born of man and woman in the same way as we also are born.

hom. in Gen.

III 5

... for not only the carnal Jews have to be refuted by us because of the circumcision of the flesh but also some of those who seem to have accepted the name of Christ but nevertheless believe that the rule of carnal circumcision has to be accepted, like the Ebionites and if there are others who err with a poverty of understanding similar to these.

hom. in Jer.

XV 4

If somebody accepts the following: "A moment ago my mother the Holy Spirit just took me and brought me to the great hill, the Thabor", etc. he can see his mother.

XIX 12

It is written in the Acts that somebody struck Paul by order of

ὑπὸ Ἀνανίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως κελευσθεῖς. διὸ εἶρηκεν ὁ Παῦλος· „τύπτειν σε μέλλει ὁ θεός, τοῖχε κεκονιαμένε,,¹ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὑπὸ παρανόμου ἀρχιερέως λόγου προστασσόμενοι Ἑβριωνᾶοι τύπτουσι τὸν ἀπόστολον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγοις δυσφήμοις.

in Matth., ed. Benz-Klostermann, in: *GCS X*
after 244

XI 12 (p. 53)

„Καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν ὄχλον, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ἀκούετε καὶ συνίετε,,² καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Σαφῶς διὰ τούτων ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος διδασκόμεθα, ἀναγινώσκοντες ἐν τῷ Λευϊτικῷ καὶ ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ τὰ περὶ καθαρῶν καὶ ἀκαθάρτων βρωμάτων, ἐφ’ οἷς ὡς παρανομοῦσιν ἐγκαλοῦσιν ἡμῖν οἱ σωματικοὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ ὀλίγῳ διαφέροντες αὐτῶν Ἑβριωνᾶοι, μὴ νομίζειν τὸν σκοπὸν εἶναι τῇ γραφῇ τὸν πρόχειρον περὶ τούτων νοῦν.

in Matth., ed. Benz-Klostermann, in: *GCS X*
after 244

XV 14 (p. 389-390)

scriptum est in evangelio quodam, quod dicitur secundum Hebraeos (si tamen placet alicui suscipere illud, non ad auctoritatem sed ad manifestationem propositae quaestionis): “dixit, inquit, ad eum alter divitum: magister, quid bonum faciens vivam? dixit ei: homo, legem et prophetas fac. respondit ad eum: feci. dixit ei: vade, vende omnia quae possides et divide pauperibus, et veni, sequere me. coepit autem dives scalpere caput suum et non placuit ei. et dixit ad eum dominus: quomodo dicis: feci legem et prophetas? quoniam scriptum est in lege: diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum, et ecce multi fratres tui filii Abrahæ amicti sunt stercore, morientes prae fame, et domus tua plena est multis bonis, et non egreditur omnino aliquid ex ea ad eos. et conversus dixit Simoni discipulo suo sedenti apud se: Simon, fili Ionae, facilius est camelum intrare per foramen acus quam divitem in regnum caelorum”.³

XVI 12 (p. 511-512 and 513)

καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων πιστευόντων εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν τὴν

¹ Acts 23,3.

² Matth. 15,10.

³ Cf. Matth. 19,16-26.

Ananias the high priest. Therefore Paul said: "God will strike you, you whitewashed wall". And up to the present day the Ebionites strike the Apostle of Jesus Christ with shameful words incited by the unlawful word of the high priest.

in Matth.

XI 12

"And when he had called the crowd together, he said to them: "Hear and understand", etc. Clearly we are taught with these words by the Saviour, reading in Leviticus and Deuteronomy about the pure and impure foods concerning which the Jews by birth and the Ebionites who differ not much from them, accuse us of being transgressors of the Law, not to think that the purpose of the Scriptures is the sense which is the most obvious with regard to these things.

XV 14

It is written in a certain gospel which is called "according to the Hebrews" (if, however, it pleases somebody to accept it, not as authority but in order to bring to light the question which has been put): "Another of the rich men", it says, "said to him, master what good must I do to live? He said to him: man, do the Law and the Prophets. He answered him: I did. He said to him: go, sell all that you possess and divide it among the poor and come, follow me. But the rich man began to scratch his head and it did not please him. And the Lord said to him: Why do you say: I did the Law and the Prophets? Is it not written in the Law: love your neighbour as yourself? and see many of your brothers, sons of Abraham, are covered with dung, dying from hunger, and your house is filled with many good things, and absolutely nothing goes out of it to them. And he turned to Simon his disciple who sat with him and said to him: Simon, son of Jona, it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man into the kingdom of heaven".

XVI 12

And if you see the faith as regards the Saviour of the Jews who

περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος πίστιν, ὅτε μὲν ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ οἰομένων αὐτὸν εἶναι ὅτε δὲ ἐκ Μαρίας μὲν μόνης καὶ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος, οὐ μὴν καὶ μετὰ τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ θεολογίας, ὅψει πῶς οὗτος ὁ τυφλὸς λέγει τὸ „υἱὸς Δαυὶδ, ἐλέησόν με,, ὥ ἐπιτιμῶσιν οἱ „πολλοί,, πολλοὶ γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἱερικῶς ἐκπορευόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνων, ἐπιτιμῶντες τῇ πτωχείᾳ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πιστεύειν δοκούντων ... „ἕνα σιωπήσῃ,,¹ τῷ Ἐβριωναίῳ καὶ πτωχεύοντι περὶ τὴν εἰς Ἰησοῦν πίστιν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνων ...

XVI 16 (p. 531)

χρὴ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εἰδέναι ὅτι πέντε περιτυχόντες ἐκδόσει τοῦ Ζαχαρίου παρὰ μὲν τοῖς Ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ τῷ Ἀκύλᾳ εὕρομεν τὸ „αὐτὸς πραῦς καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον,, ἢ „ἐπὶ ὄνου καὶ πώλου υἱοῦ ὀνάδων,, παρὰ δὲ Θεοδοτίωνι „αὐτὸς ἐπακούων καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὄνον καὶ πῶλον υἱὸν ὄνου,, παρὰ δὲ Συμμάχῳ „αὐτὸς πτωχὸς καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὄνον καὶ πῶλον υἱὸν ὀνάδος,, ἐν δὲ τῇ πέμπτῃ ἐκδόσει „αὐτὸς πτωχὸς καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον υἱὸν ὄνων,,² καὶ δύναται γέ τις ταῦτα ἐφαρμόζειν τῇ κατὰ τὸν ἐξεταζόμενον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τόπον ἱστορίᾳ, ὅτε πρῶτος καὶ ἐπακούων καὶ πτωχὸς ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὁ σωτήρ. „ἐπτῶχευσε,, γὰρ „πλούσιος ὢν, ἵνα,, οἱ ἀκούοντες αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐπακούοντος ἡμῶν „τῇ πτωχείᾳ,, αὐτοῦ πλουτήσωσιν.³

in *Matth. comm.*, ed. Benz-Klostermann, in: *GCS XI*
after 244

ser. 79 (p. 188-189)

“Prima autem azymorum accesserunt discipuli ad Iesum dicentes ei: ubi vis paremus tibi pascha manducare? Iesus autem dixit: ite in civitatem ad quemdam et dicite ei”⁴ et cetera. Apud Marcum autem sic dicit: “et prima die azymorum, quando pascha immolabatur”⁵ ... sicut ergo apparet, una eademque dies erat paschae, quando oportebat immolare pascha, et azymorum, quando oportebat tollere “fermentum vetus” et azyma manducare cum carnibus agni. et dies quidem paschae una erat, azymorum autem septem, connumerata videlicet die paschae cum ceteris sex. secundum haec fortisan aliquis

¹ Mark. 10, 47-48.

² Zach. 9,9 and Matth. 21,5.

³ II Cor. 8,9.

⁴ Matth. 26,17-18.

⁵ Mark. 14,12.

believe in Jesus when they think that he is born of Mary and Joseph as well as that he is from Mary only and the divine Spirit — certainly not in agreement with the doctrine about him — you will see why that blind man, who was reprimanded by the “many”, says: “Son of David, have mercy on me”. For many came from Jericho and from the Gentiles reprimanding the poverty of those of the Jews who pretended to believe ... “in order that he silences” the Ebionite and the one who makes poor with regard to the belief in Jesus, those who come from the gentiles ...

XVI 16

It is necessary to know also that there happen to be five editions of Zechariah. In the Septuagint and in Aquila we find: “He was humble and sat on a beast of burden and a young colt” or: “on a donkey and a colt of a she-donkey”. With Theodotion: “He was obedient and sat upon a donkey and the colt of a donkey”. With Symmachus: “He was poor and sat upon a donkey and the colt of a she-donkey”. And in the fifth edition: He was poor and sat upon a beast of burden and a colt of donkeys”. And can anybody reconcile this with the story according to the passage found in the Gospel that the Saviour went to Jerusalem humble and obedient and poor. For “he became poor being rich in order that” those who listened to him who was obedient to us should become rich “by this poverty”.

in Matth. comm.

ser. 79

“On the first day of the unleavened bread the disciples approached Jesus and said to him: where do you want us to prepare the passover to eat? Jesus said then: go into the village to a certain man and say to him”, etc. But in Mark we read thus: “and on the first day of the unleavened bread, when the passover was slaughtered” ... thus therefore, it appears that on one and the same day it was passover, when one ought to sacrifice paschal lambs and the feast of the unleavened bread when one ought to take away “the old leaven” and to eat unleavened bread with the flesh of the lamb. And passover lasted one

inperitorum requireret cadens in Ebionitismum (ex eo quod Iesus celebravit more Iudaico pascha corporaliter sicut et primam diem azymorum et pascha), dicens quia convenit et nos imitatores Christi similiter facere; non considerans quoniam Iesus, "cum venisset temporis plenitudo" et missus fuisset, factus est "de muliere", "factus" est "sub lege",¹ non ut eos, qui sub lege erant sub lege relinqueret, sed ut educeret eos ex lege.

in Lucam, ed. Reiter, in: *GCS IX*
after 244

14, 18ff. (fragm. 212) (p. 319)

‘Ο δὲ ζεύγη βοῶν ἀγοράσας πέντε οὐδ’ οὕτως ἐδοκίμασεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἃ ἐώνηται· ἔστι δὲ ὁ τῆς νοητῆς καταφρονῶν φύσεως, περὶ δὲ τὰ αἰσθητὰ φιλοσοφῶν ὡς Ἰουδαῖοι Ἐβιωναῖοι· ...

in epist. ad Rom., ed. Lommatzsch VI
after 244

III 11 (p. 226-227)

Qui ergo non credit Christo, de quo Moses scripsit in lege destruit legem: qui autem credit Christo, de quo Moses scripsit, legem confirmat per fidem, quia credit in Christum ... Nam Marcion, qui alium dicit Deum legis, alium Patrem Christi, per fidem suam non statuit, neque confirmat sed destruit legem. Hoc et Ebion facit; hoc et omnes, qui in fide catholica aliquid corruptionis interserunt.

in epist. ad Titum, ed. Lommatzsch V
after 244

(p. 285-286)

Sed nunc unum atque idem credendum est etiam de eo, qui de Domino nostro Jesu Christo falsi aliquid senserit, sive secundum eos, qui dicunt eum ex Joseph et Maria natum, sicut sunt Ebionitae et Valentiani, sive secundum eos, qui primogenitum eum negant, et totius creaturae Deum, et Verbum, et Sapientiam, quae est initium viarum Dei, antequam aliquid fieret, ante saecula fundata, atque ante omnes colles generatam,² sed hominem solum eum dicentes: ...

¹ Gal. 4,4.

² Prov. 8,22-26.

day but the unleavened bread seven in which case the day of passover was obviously counted with the other six. In accordance with this somebody with no experience perhaps does some investigating and falls into the Ebionite heresy (starting from the fact that Jesus during his life celebrated passover in the way of the Jews and also likewise the first day of the unleavened bread and passover) saying because it behaves us as imitators of Christ to do similarly: while not considering that Jesus "when the fulness of time had come" was sent and made "from a woman", "made under the Law" not in order to leave those who were under the Law, under the Law, but to lead them away from the Law.

in Lucam

14, 18ff

The one who bought the five yokes of oxen thus did not realise from the beginning what he bought. He neglected the spiritual nature and pursued physical things like the Jewish Ebionites.

in epist. ad Rom.

III 11

Therefore he who does not believe in Christ about whom Moses has written in the Law, has destroyed the Law: however, who believes in Christ about whom Moses has written, confirms the Law because of his faith, because he believes in Christ ... For Marcion, who said that the God of the Law is one and the Father of Christ is another, did not consolidate the Law by his faith, nor did he confirm it, but he destroyed the Law. This Ebion also has done and all those who sow something of corruption in the catholic faith.

in epist. ad Titum

But now one and the same must be believed also with regard to him who thinks something wrong about our Lord Jesus Christ, or according to those who say that he was born of Joseph and Mary, like the Ebionites and the Valentinians, or according to those who deny that he is the first born, God of all creation, Word, Wisdom, which is the beginning of the ways of God, before anything came into being, founded before the worlds and generated before the hills, but say that he was only man ...

c. *Celsus*, ed. Koetschau, in: *GCS* I and II
ca. 250

II 1 (I, p. 126-127)

τί οὖν καὶ λέγει (scil. Celsus) πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων πιστεύοντας, κατανοητέον. φησὶν αὐτοὺς καταλιπόντας τὸν πατριον νόμον τῷ ἐψυχαγωγῆσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἡπατῆσθαι πάνν γελοίως καὶ ἀπηντομοληκέναι εἰς ἄλλο ὄνομα καὶ εἰς ἄλλον βίον, μηδὲ τοῦτο κατανοήσας, ὅτι οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν πιστεύοντες οὐ καταλελοίπασιν τὸν πατριον νόμον. βιοῦσι γὰρ κατ' αὐτὸν, ἐπάννυμι τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐκδοχὴν πτωχείας τοῦ νόμου γεγεννημένοι. Ἐβίων τε γὰρ ὁ πτωχὸς παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις καλεῖται, καὶ Ἐβιωναῖοι χρηματίζουσιν οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὡς χριστὸν παραδεξάμενοι.

V 61 (II, p. 65)

ἔστωσαν δέ τινες καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀποδεχόμενοι ὡς παρὰ τοῦτο Χριστιανοὶ εἶναι αὐχοῦντες, ἔτι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἰουδαίων νόμον ὡς τὰ Ἰουδαίων πλήθη βιοῦν ἐθέλοντες· οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ διττοὶ Ἐβιωναῖοι, ἧτοι ἐκ παρθένου ὁμολογοῦντες ὁμοίως ἡμῖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἢ οὐχ οὕτω γεγενῆσθαι ἀλλὰ ὡς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους· ...

V 65 (II, p. 68)

εἰς γὰρ τινες αἰρέσεις τὰς Παύλου ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ ἀποστόλου μὴ προσιέμεναι, ὥσπερ Ἐβιωναῖοι ἀμφότεροι καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι Ἐγκρατῆταί.

PSEUDO-TERTULLIAN

carmen adv. Marc., ed. Willems, in: *CC* (Ser. Lat.) II
2nd half 3rd cent.

I (p. 1425)

Hebioni Christum suasit de semine natum,
Et circumcidi docuit, legique uacare,
Fontibus amissis elementa resumere legis.

METHODIUS

Symposium, ed. Bonwetsch, in: *GCS*
ca. 300

VIII 10 (p. 93)

... ὅθεν καὶ τρίτον τῶν ἀστέρων ἐκλήθησαν μέρος, οἶον περὶ ἕνα

c. Celsus

II 1

One must pay attention to what Celsus is also saying to those among the Jews who believe. He says: they left the ancestral Law, since they have been persuaded by Jesus, they have been most ridiculously deceived and have deserted to another name and another life. But he did not notice that those of the Jews who believe in Jesus have not left the ancestral Law. For they live according to that Law called after poverty because of their hanging on to the poverty of the Law. Because among the Jews Ebion means poor and those of the Jews who accepted Jesus are named Ebionites.

V 61

Some stood up who accepted Jesus so that they in addition to this boasted of being christians and yet wished to live according to the Law of the Jews like the mass of the Jews. These are the two kinds of Ebionites, some confessing that Jesus was born of a virgin as we do and others who deny this but say that he was born like the other people.

V 66

For there are some heresies like the Ebionites, both groups, and the so-called Enkratites, which do not accept the letters of Paul.

PSEUDO TERTULLIAN

carmen adv. Marc.

I

He persuaded Hebion (to accept) that Christ was born of man's seed and taught that one has to be circumcised and to dedicate oneself to the Law and to take up again the essentials of the Law, from sources which have been abolished.

METHODIUS

symposium

VIII 10

... whence also they were called the third part of the stars in so far as

τῶν ἀριθμῶν τῆς τριάδος διεσφαλμένοι, ὅτε μὲν τὸν τοῦ πατρός, ὡς Σαβέλλιος, αὐτὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα λέξας πεπονθέναι, ὅτε δὲ τὸν τοῦ υἱοῦ, ὡς Ἀρτεμᾶς, καὶ οἱ δοκήσει αὐτὸν ἀποφηνάμενοι πεφνηναι, ὅτε δὲ περὶ τὸν τοῦ πνεύματος, ὡς Ἐβιωναῖοι, ἐξ ἰδίας κινήσεως τοὺς προφήτας φιλονεικοῦντες λελαληκέναι· Μαρκίωνος γὰρ καὶ Οὐαλεντίνου καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἐλχασαῖον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καλὸν μὴδὲ μνημονεῦσαι.

VICTORINUS POETOVIONENSIS

comm. in apoc., ed. Hausleiter, in: *CSEL* 49

† 304

XI 1 (Editio Victorini) (p. 94-96)

cum essent enim Valentinus et Cerinthus et Ebion et cetera scola (satanae) sparsa per orbem, conuenerunt ad illum de finitimis ciuitatibus episcopi et compulerunt eum, ut ipse testimonium conscriberet in dominum.

(Recensio Hieronymi) (p. 95-97)

cum esset enim Valentinus et Cerinthus et Ebion et ceteri scholae satanae diffusi per orbem, conuenerunt ad illum de finitimis prouinciis omnes episcopi et compulerunt, ut ipse testimonium conscriberet.

XXI 3 (Recensio Hieronymi) (p. 103)

ergo audiendi non sunt, qui mille annorum regnum terrenum esse confirmant, qui cum Cerintho heretico sentiunt.

EUSEBIUS

demonstratio evangelica, ed. Heikel, in: *GCS* VI

ca. 320

III 5 (p. 122)

ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κυρίου, ὃν οἱ πάλαι τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα οἰκοῦντες ἐκάλουν δίκαιον διὰ τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς πλεονεκτήματα, ἐρωτηθεὶς πρὸς τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ διδασκάλων τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους, τίνα περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔχοι δόξαν, κἀπειτα ἀποκρινάμενος ὅτι υἱὸς θεοῦ εἶ[η], λίθοις καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτῶν βάλλεται.

they have gone astray with regard to one of the persons of the Trinity, on the one hand with regard to the Father, like Sabellius who said that the Almighty himself had suffered, on the other hand with regard to the Son, like Artemas and those who say that he only came into being in appearance, and finally with regard to the Holy Spirit like the Ebionites who say out of contentiousness that the prophets spoke of their own accord. For it is better not to mention Marcion and Valentinus and those about Elkesaios and others.

VICTORINUS POETOVIONENSIS

comm. in apoc.

XI 1 (Vict.)

For when Valentinus, Cerinthus and Ebion and the other school (of satan) were dispersed over the world, the bishops came together to him from the most distant lands and forced him that he himself drew up a testimony to the Lord.

(Hier.)

For when Valentinus, Cerinthus and Ebion and the others of the school of Satan were spread over the world, all bishops came together to him from the most distant provinces and forced him that he himself drew up a testimony.

XXI 3 (Hier.)

Therefore, one must not listen to those who state that there will be an earthly kingdom of a thousand years, those who agree with Cerinthus the heretic.

EUSEBIUS

demonstratio evangelica

III 5

When, in addition to this James, the brother of the Lord, whom those formerly living in Jerusalem called "the righteous one" because of the excellencies of his virtue, was asked by the highpriests and the teachers of the Jewish people what ideas he held about the Christ and promptly answered that he was the Son of God, he was thrown with stones by them.

III 5 (p. 131)

καὶ ἡ ἱστορία δὲ κατέχει ὡς καὶ μεγίστη τις ἦν ἐκκλησία Χριστοῦ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων συγκροτουμένη μέχρι τῶν χρόνων τῆς κατ' Ἀδριανὸν πολιορκίας.

VII 1 (p. 304)

παρὰ δὲ τῷ Συμμάχῳ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει [λέγεται δὲ ὁ Σύμμαχος Ἑβριωναῖος εἶναι· αἵρεσις δὲ ἦν οὕτω καλουμένων τινῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς Χριστὸν πιστεύειν λεγομένων, ἐξ ὧν ὁ Σύμμαχος ἦν, παρ' ᾧ καὶ αὐτῷ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει]· „ἀκούσατε οἶκος Δαβίδ, μὴ οὐκ αὐτάρκες ὑμῖν κοποῦν ἀνθρώπους, ὅτι κοποῦτε τὸν θεόν μου ; διὰ τοῦτο δώσει κύριος αὐτὸς ὑμῖν σημεῖον. ἰδοὺ ἡ νεᾶνις συλλαμβάνει καὶ τίκτει υἱόν, καὶ καλέσεις ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἑμμανουήλ,,¹

hist. eccles., ed. Schwartz, in: *GCS* II 1,2

324

I 7 14 (p. 60)

„ὧν ἐτύγχανον οἱ προειρημένοι, δεσπόσυνοι καλούμενοι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ σωτήριον γένος συνάφειαν ἀπὸ τε Ναζάρων καὶ Κωχαβα κωμῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν τῇ λοιπῇ γῇ ἐπιφοιτήσαντες καὶ τὴν προκειμένην γενεαλογίαν ἔκ τε τῆς Βίβλου τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐς ὅσον ἐξικνοῦντο, ἐξηγησάμενοι,,²

III 5 3 (p. 196)

... ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας κατὰ τινα χρησμόν τοῖς αὐτοῖσι δοκίμοις δι' ἀποκαλύψεως ἐκδοθέντα πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου μεταστῆναι τῆς πόλεως καὶ τινα τῆς Περσίας πόλιν οἰκεῖν κεκελευσμένον, Πέλλαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζουσιν, [ἐν ᾗ] τῶν εἰς Χριστὸν πεπιστευκότων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ μετωπισμένων, ...

III 24 6 (p. 246)

Ματθαῖός τε γὰρ πρότερον Ἑβραίοις κηρύξας, ὡς ἤμελλεν καὶ ἐφ' ἐτέρους ἰέναι, πατρίῳ γλώττῃ γραφῇ παραδοὺς τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον, τὸ λείπον τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ τούτοις ἀφ' ὧν ἐστέλλετο, διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἀπεπλήρου· ...

III 25 5 (p. 252)

ἥδη δ' ἐν τούτοις τινὲς καὶ τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον κατέλεξαν, ᾧ μάλιστα Ἑβραίων οἱ τὸν Χριστὸν παραδεξάμενοι χαίρουσιν.

¹ Is. 7,13-14.

² Africanus.

III 5

... and the History also contains the remark that there also was a very big Church of Christ in Jerusalem, built by the Jews, until the time of the siege of Hadrian.

VII 1

With Symmachus matters are as follows. (It is said that Symmachus was an Ebionite. This was a heresy of some so-called Jews who claim to believe in Christ and Symmachus was one of them. With him things are as follows:) "Hear, house of David. Is it not sufficient to you to wear out men that you wear out my God? Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign: See a young woman conceives and bears a son and you shall give him the name Emmanuel".

hist. eccles.

I 7 14

Among these were those already mentioned, called Desposyni, on account of their connection with the family of the Saviour. From Jewish villages, Nazara and Kochaba, they spread out over the rest of the country and they had as far as they could, drawn the above mentioned genealogy from the Book of the Days.

III 5 3

... but the people of the Church in Jerusalem had been commanded by an oracle given to approved men among them by a revelation, to leave the city before the war and to dwell in a certain village of Perea, called Pella. And there were those living that believed in Christ and had come there from Jerusalem.

III 24 6

For Matthew, who first preached to the Hebrews, when he intended to go to the others also, committed his Gospel to writing in his native language and thus compensated by this writing those whom he left for the loss of his presence.

III 25 5

And among those some have placed also the Gospel according to the Hebrews with those of the Hebrews that have accepted Christ are especially pleased.

III 27 1-6 (p. 254-256)

1. ἄλλους δ' ὁ πονηρὸς δαίμων, τῆς περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ διαθέσεως ἀδυνατῶν ἐκσεῖσαι, θατεραλήπτους εὐρῶν ἐσφετερίζετο· Ἐβριωναίους τούτους οἰκείως ἐπεφήμιζον οἱ πρῶτοι, πτωχῶς καὶ ταπεινῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοξάζοντας. 2. λιτὸν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ κοινὸν ἡγοῦντο, κατὰ προκοπὴν ἡθους αὐτὸ μόνον ἄνθρωπον δεικναιμὲνον ἐξ ἀνδρός τε κοινωνίας καὶ τῆς Μαρίας γεγεννημένον· δεῖν δὲ πάντως αὐτοῖς τῆς νομικῆς θρησκείας ὡς μὴ ἂν διὰ μόνης τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πίστεως καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν βίου σωθησομένοις. 3. ἄλλοι δὲ παρὰ τούτους τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντες προσηγορίας, τὴν μὲν τῶν εἰρημένων ἔκτοπον διεδίδρασκον ἀτοπίαν, ἐκ παρθένου καὶ ἀγίου πνεύματος μὴ ἀρνούμενοι γεγονέναι τὸν κύριον, οὐ μὴν ἔθ' ὁμοίως καὶ οὗτοι προϋπάρχειν αὐτὸν θεὸν λόγον ὄντα καὶ σοφίαν ὁμολογοῦντες, τῇ τῶν προτέρων περιετρέποντο δυσσεβεῖα, μάλιστα ὅτε καὶ τὴν σωματικὴν περὶ τὸν νόμον λατρείαν ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις περιέπειν ἐσπούδαζον. 4. οὗτοι δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἀποστόλου ἀμπαν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀρνητέας ἡγοῦντο εἶναι δεῖν, ἀποστάτην ἀποκαλοῦντες αὐτὸν τοῦ νόμου, εὐαγγελίῳ δὲ μόνῳ τῷ καθ' Ἐβραίους λεγομένῳ χρώμενοι, τῶν λοιπῶν σμικρὸν ἐποιοῦντο λόγον· 5. καὶ τὸ μὲν σάββατον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰουδαϊκὴν ἀγωγὴν ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις παρεφύλαττον, ταῖς δ' αὖ κυριακαῖς ἡμέραις ἡμῖν τὰ παραπλήσια εἰς μνήμην τῆς σωτηρίου ἀναστάσεως ἐπετέλουν· 6. ὅθεν παρὰ τὴν τοιαύτην ἐγχείρησιν τῆς τοιαύτης λελόγχασι προσηγορίας, τοῦ Ἐβριωναίων ὀνόματος τὴν τῆς διανοίας προχείαν αὐτῶν ὑποφαίνοντος· ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐπὶ κλην ὁ πτωχὸς παρ' Ἐβραίοις ὀνομάζεται·

III 28 1-6 (p. 256-260)

1. Κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους χρόνους ἑτέρας αἰρέσεως ἀρχηγὸν γενέσθαι Κήρινθον παρειλήφαμεν· Γάιος, οὗ φωνὰς ἤδη πρότερον παρατέθειμαι, ἐν τῇ φερομένῃ αὐτοῦ ζητήσῃ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ γράφει 2. „ἀλλὰ καὶ Κήρινθος ὁ δι' ἀποκαλύψεων ὡς ὑπὸ ἀποστόλου μεγάλου γεγραμμένων τερατολογίας ἡμῖν ὡς δι' ἀγγέλων αὐτῷ δεδειγμένας ψευδόμενος ἐπεισάγει, λέγων μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐπίγειον εἶναι τὸ βασίλειον τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πάλιν ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὴν σάρκα πολιτευομένην δουλεύειν, καὶ ἔχθρὸς ὑπάρχων ταῖς γραφαῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀριθμὸν χιλιονταετίας ἐν γάμῳ ἑορτῆς, θέλων πλανᾶν, λέγει γίνεσθαι,,. 3. καὶ Διονύσιος δέ, ὁ τῆς κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παροικίας καθ' ἡμᾶς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν εἰληχῶς, ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν Ἐπαγγελιῶν περὶ τῆς Ἰωάννου Ἀποκαλύψεως εἰπὼν τινα ὡς ἐκ τῆς ἀνέκαθεν παραδόσεως, τοῦ αὐτοῦ

III 27 1-6

1. The evil demon, however, being unable to tear certain others from their allegiance to the Christ of God, yet found them susceptible in a different direction, and so won them over to his own purposes. The ancients quite properly called these men Ebionites, because they held poor and mean opinions concerning Christ. 2. For they considered him a plain and common man who was justified only because of his progress in virtue, born of the intercourse of a man and Mary. In their opinion the observance of the Law was altogether necessary, on the ground that they could not be saved by faith in Christ alone and by a corresponding life. 3. There were others, however, besides them, that were of the same name but avoided the strange absurdity of the former, and did not deny that the Lord was born of a virgin and the Holy Spirit. But nevertheless in as much as they also refused to confess that he was God, Word and Wisdom, they turned aside into the impiety of the former, especially when, like them, they did their best to observe strictly the bodily worship of the Law. 4. These men, moreover, thought that it was necessary to reject all the epistles of the Apostle, whom they called an apostate from the Law; and they used only the so-called Gospel according to the Hebrews and made small account of the rest. 5. The Sabbath and the rest of the discipline of the Jews they observed just like them, but at the same time, like us they celebrated the Lord's day as a memorial of the resurrection of the Saviour. Wherefore, in consequence of such a way of life, they received the name Ebionites, which signified the poverty of their understanding. For this is the name by which a poor man is called among the Hebrews.

III 28 1-6

1. We have learned that at this time Cerinthus became the author of another heresy. Caius, whose words we quoted above, in the Disputation which is ascribed to him, writes as follows concerning this man: 2. "But Cerinthus also, by means of revelations, said to be written by a great apostle, brings before us miraculous things in a deceitful way, saying that they were revealed to angels. And he says that after the resurrection the kingdom of Christ will be set up on earth, and that in Jerusalem the body will again serve as the instrument of desires and pleasures. And since he is an enemy of the divine Scriptures and sets out to deceive, he says that there will be a marriage feast lasting a thousand years. 3. And Dionysius, who was bishop of the parish of Alexandria in our day, in the second book of his work On the Prom-

μέμνηται ἀνδρὸς τούτοις τοῖς ῥήμασιν 4. „Κήρινθον δέ, τὸν καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου κληθείσαν Κηρινθιανὴν αἵρεσιν συστησάμενον, ἀξιόπιστον ἐπιφημίσαι θελήσαντα τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πλάσματι ὄνομα. τοῦτο γὰρ εἶναι τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ τὸ δόγμα, ἐπίγειον ἔσσεσθαι τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείαν, 5. καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὠρέγετο, φιλοσώματος ὧν καὶ πάνυ σαρκικός, ἐν τούτοις ὀνειροπολεῖν ἔσσεσθαι, γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γαστέρα πλησμοναῖς, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ σιτίοις καὶ πότοις καὶ γάμοις καὶ δι' ὧν εὐφημότερον ταῦτα ᾤήθη ποριεῖσθαι, ἐορταῖς καὶ θυσίαις καὶ ἱερείων σφαγαῖς,„ 6. ταῦτα Λιονύσιος· ὁ δὲ Εἰρηνάιος ἀπορρητοτέρας δὴ τινὰς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ψευδοδοξίας ἐν πρώτῳ συγγράμματι τῶν πρὸς τὰς αἱρέσεις προθεῖς, ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ καὶ ἱστορίαν οὐκ ἀξίαν λήθης τῇ γραφῇ παραδédωκεν, ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως Πολυκάρπου φάσκων Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀπόστολον εἰσελθεῖν ποτε ἐν βαλανείῳ, ὥστε λούσασθαι, γνόντα δὲ ἔνδον ὄντα τὸν Κήρινθον, ἀποπηδῆσαι τε τοῦ τόπου καὶ ἐκφυγεῖν θύραζε, μὴδ' ὑπομείναντα τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ ὑποδύναι στέγην, ταῦτό δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ παραινέσαι, φήσαντα „φύγωμεν, μὴ καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον συμπέσῃ, ἔνδον ὄντος Κηρίνθου τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθροῦ,„

III 36 11 (p. 278)

ὁ δ' αὐτὸς Σμυρναῖος γράφων, οὐκ οἶδ' ὁπόθεν ῥητοῖς συγκέχρηται, τοιαῦτά τινα περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διεξιὼν „ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν οἶδα καὶ πιστεύω ὄντα. καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρου ἐλήλυθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον· καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἤψαντο καὶ ἐπίστευσαν,„¹

III 39 16-17 (p. 292)

16. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἱστόρηται τῷ Παπῖᾳ περὶ τοῦ Μάρκου· περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ματθαίου ταῦτ' εἴρηται „Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνετάξατο, ἡρμήνευσεν δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος,„ 17. κέχρηται δ' ὁ αὐτὸς μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρου ὁμοίως, ἐκτέθεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἱστορίαν περὶ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἀμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου, ἦντο καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον περιέχει. καὶ ταῦτα δ' ἡμῖν ἀναγκαίως πρὸς τοῖς ἐκτεθείσιν ἐπιτετηρήσθω.

¹ Ignatius, *Smyrn.* III, cf. Luke 24, 39.

ises, where he says some things concerning the Apocalypse of John which he draws from ancient tradition, mentions this same man in the following words: 4. "But Cerinthus who also founded the sect which was called after him the Cerinthian, wanted to give his own fiction a reputable name. For the doctrine which he taught was this: 5. that the kingdom of Christ will be an earthly one. And he dreamt that it would consist in these things he himself was devoted to, because he was a lover of the body and altogether carnal, namely in the delights of the belly and of the sexual passion, that is to say in eating and drinking and marrying, and — because of this he thought he could provide himself with a better reputation — in festivals and sacrifices and the slaying of victims". 6. These are the words of Dionysius. But Irenaeus in the first book Against the Heresies, adds some more hidden false doctrines of the same man, and in the third book he relates a story which deserves not to be forgotten. He says, on the authority of Polycarp, that the apostle John, once entered a bath-house to bath. But learning that Cerinthus was within, he left the place and rushed out of the door, for he could not bear to remain under the same roof with him. And he advised those that were with him to do the same, saying: "Let us flee, lest the bath-house falls down, for Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is within".

III 36 11

And the same man writing to the Smyrnaeans, used the following words: I do not know whence he took them, with regard to Christ, saying: "But I know and believe that he was in the flesh after the resurrection. And when he came to Peter and those with him he said to them, Take me and feel me and see that I am not a demon without a body and immediately they touched him and they believed".

III 39 16-17

16. These things are related by Papias concerning Mark. But concerning Matthew he writes as follows: "So then Matthew wrote the words in the Hebrew language and every one interpreted them as he was able. 17. And the same writer used testimonies from the first Epistle of John and from Peter likewise. And he related another story of a woman accused of many sins before the Lord which is available in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. These things we have thought it necessary to observe in addition to what has already been stated.

IV 14 6 (p. 332-334)

„καὶ εἰσὶν οἱ ἀκηκοότες αὐτοῦ ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ κυρίου μαθητὴς ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ πορευθεὶς λούσασθαι καὶ ἰδὼν ἔσω Κήρινθον ἐξήλατο τοῦ βαλανείου μὴ λουσάμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπειπὼν· φύγωμεν, μὴ καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον συμπέσῃ, ἔνδον ὄντος Κηρίνθου τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθροῦ,·¹

IV 22 8 (p. 372)

καὶ ἕτερα δὲ πλείστα γράφει,² ὧν ἐκ μέρους ἤδη πρότερον ἐμνημονεύσαμεν, οἰκειῶς τοῖς καιροῖς τὰς ἱστορίας παραθέμενοι, ἕκ τε τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊδος διαλέκτου τινὰ τίθησιν, ἐμφαίνων ἐξ Ἑβραίων ἑαυτὸν πεπιστευκέναι, καὶ ἄλλαδὲ ὡς ἐξ Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀγράφου παραδόσεως μνημονεύει.

V 8 2 (p. 442-444)

„ὁ μὲν δὴ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτῶν διαλέκτῳ καὶ γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου, τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν,·³ ...

V 8 10 (p. 446-448)

„καὶ περὶ τῆς κατὰ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα ἐρμηνείας τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν ἄκουε οἶα κατὰ λέξιν γράφει,·⁴ ὁ θεὸς οὖν ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο καὶ αὐτὸς κύριος ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς, δὸς τὸ τῆς παρθένου σημεῖον, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἐνιοὶ φασιν τῶν νῦν τολμώντων μεθερμηνεύειν τὴν γραφὴν, „ἰδοὺ ἡ νεᾶνις ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν,·⁵ ὡς Θεοδοτίων ἡρμήνευσεν ὁ Ἐφέσιος καὶ Ἀκύλας ὁ Ποντικός, ἀμφότεροι Ἰουδαῖοι προσήλυτοι, οἱς κατακολουθήσαντες οἱ Ἑβριναῖοι ἐξ Ἰωσήφ αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι φάσκουσιν,·

V 10 3 (p. 450-452)

ὧν εἰς γενόμενος καὶ ὁ Πάνταινος, καὶ εἰς Ἰνδοὺς ἐλθεῖν λέγεται, ἔνθα λόγος εὑρεῖν αὐτὸν προφθάσαν τὴν αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον παρὰ τισιν αὐτόθι τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπεγνώκοσιν, οἱς Βαρθολομαῖον τῶν ἀποστόλων ἕνα κηρύττει αὐτοῖς τε Ἑβραίων

¹ Irenaeus.

² Hegesippus.

³ Irenaeus.

⁴ Irenaeus.

⁵ Is. 7,14.

IV 14 6

And there are those that heard from him that John, the disciple of the Lord, going to bath in Ephesus and seing Cerinthus within ran out of the bath-house without bathing, crying: ‘ Let us flee, lest even the bath-house fall down, because Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is within’.

IV 22 8

And he wrote many other things which we mentioned already in part while we referred his stories in appropriate places. And he quotes from the Gospel to the Hebrews and from the Syriac and sometimes from the Hebrew idiom. Thus he shows that he is a convert from the Hebrews and he mentions other things as taken from the unwritten Hebrew tradition.

V 8 2

“Matthew published his Gospel among the Hebrews in their own language in the time that Peter and Paul preached the Gospel and founded the Church in Rome”.

V 8 10

With regard to the translation of the inspired scriptures according to the seventy, listen to the very words he writes: God became man and the Lord himself saved us, giving the sign of the virgin, but not as some say of those who at the moment venture to translate the scripture: “See, a young woman shall conceive and bring forth a son”, as Theodotion of Ephesus and Aquila of Pontus both Jewish proselytes, interpreted, whom the Ebionites follow when they say that he was born of Joseph.

V 10 3

Pantaenus was one of these and it is said that he went to India and that he, with some people who knew Christ, found the Gospel of Matthew that had already arrived before his coming. For Bartholomew, one of the apostles, had preached to them and left with them the

γράμμασι τὴν τοῦ Ματθαίου καταλείψαι γραφὴν, ἣν καὶ σφύζεσθαι εἰς τὸν δηλούμενον χρόνον.

VI 17 (p. 554-556)

Τῶν γε μὴν ἐρμηνευτῶν αὐτῶν δὴ τούτων ἰστέον Ἐβιωναῖον τὸν Σύμμαχον γεγονέναι· αἵρεσις δέ ἐστιν ἡ τῶν Ἐβιωναίων οὕτω καλουμένη τῶν τὸν Χριστὸν ἐξ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας γεγονέναι φασκόντων ψιλὸν τε ἄνθρωπον ὑπειληφότων αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν νόμον χρῆναι Ἰουδαϊκώτερον φυλάττειν ἀπισχυριζομένων, ὥς που καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρόσθεν ἱστορίας ἔγνωμεν. καὶ ὑπομνήματα δὲ τοῦ Συμμάχου εἰς ἔτι νῦν φέρεται, ἐν οἷς δοκεῖ πρὸς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἀποτεινόμενος εὐαγγέλιον τὴν δεδηλωμένην αἵρεσιν κρατύνειν. ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ὁριγένης μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων εἰς τὰς γραφὰς ἐρμηνειῶν τοῦ Συμμάχου σημαίνει παρὰ Ἰουλιανῆς τινος εἰληφέναι; ἦν καὶ φησιν παρ' αὐτοῦ Συμμάχου τὰς βίβλους διαδέξασθαι.

VI 25 4 (p. 576)

„ὥς ἐν παραδόσει μαθὼν περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων εὐαγγελίων, ἃ καὶ μόνα ἀναντίρρητά ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν γέγραπται τὸ κατὰ τὸν ποτε τελώνην, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπόστολον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Ματθαῖον, ἐκ δεδωκότα αὐτὸ τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ πιστεύουσιν, γράμμασιν Ἑβραϊκοῖς συντεταγμένον,“¹ ...

VI 38 (p. 592-594)

Τότε δὲ καὶ ἄλλης διαστροφῆς κατάρχεται ἡ τῶν Ἑλκεσαϊτῶν λεγομένη αἵρεσις, ἡ καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἄρξασθαι ἀπέσβη. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῆς ὁμιλῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ εἰς τὸν $\overline{\pi\beta}$ ψαλμὸν ὁ Ὁριγένης, ὡδέ πως λέγων „ἐλλήλυθέν τις ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος μέγα φρονῶν ἐπὶ τῷ δύνασθαι πρεσβεύειν γνώμης ἀθέου καὶ ἀσεβεστάτης, καλουμένης Ἑλκεσαιτῶν, νεωστὶ ἐπανισταμένης ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. ἐκείνη ἡ γνώμη οἷα λέγει κακά, παραθήσομαι ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ συναρπάξῃθε. ἀθετεῖ τινα ἀπὸ πάσης γραφῆς, κέχρηται ῥήτοις πάλιν ἀπὸ πάσης παλαιᾶς τε καὶ εὐαγγελικῆς, τὸν ἀπόστολον τέλεον ἀθετεῖ. φησὶν δὲ ὅτι τὸ ἀρνήσασθαι ἀδιάφορόν ἐστιν καὶ ὁ μὲν νοήσας τῷ μὲν στόματι ἐν ἀνάγκαις ἀρνήσεται, τῇ δὲ καρδίᾳ οὐχί. καὶ βίβλον τινὰ φέρουσιν, ἣν λέγουσιν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πεπτωκέναι καὶ τὸν ἀκηκοῦτα ἐκείνης καὶ πιστεύοντα ἄφεσιν λήψεσθαι τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, ἄλλην ἄφεσιν παρ' ἣν Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἀφῆκεν,“.

writing of Matthew in the Hebrew language which they had preserved till that time.

V 17

As to these translators one must know that Symmachus was an Ebionite. But the heresy of the Ebionites, as it is called consists of those who say that Christ was the son of Joseph and Mary, considering him a mere man and insisting strongly on keeping the Law in a Jewish manner, as we already know from this History. Treatises of Symmachus are still extant in which he appears to support this heresy by attacking the Gospel of Matthew. Origen makes clear that he obtained these and other commentaries of Symmachus on the Scriptures from a certain Juliana who he says, received the books from Symmachus himself.

VI 25 4

From the tradition I have learned concerning the four Gospels which are the only indisputable Gospels in the Church of God under heaven, that first was written the Gospel according to Matthew, who was once a publican and later an apostle of Jesus Christ and that it was given to the Jewish converts and written in the Hebrew language.

VI 38

Another error also arose at that time, called the heresy of the Elkesaites which also disappeared as soon as it began. Origen speaks of it in this manner in his public homily on the eighty-second Psalm: "A certain man came just now, puffed up greatly with his ability to proclaim a godless and impious opinion which has appeared lately in the churches, called that of Elkesaites. I will show you what evil things that opinion teaches so that you may not be carried away by it. It rejects certain parts of every scripture. Again it uses portions of the entire Old Testament and the Gospel, but it rejects the Apostle altogether. It says that to deny Christ is an indifferent matter and he who understands this will, under necessity, deny with his mouth but not in his heart. They produce a certain book which, they say, fell from heaven and whoever hears and believes this shall receive remission of sins, a different remission from that which Jesus Christ has given".

VII 25 1-3 (p. 690-692)

1. Εἰθ' ἐξῆς ὑποβάς, περὶ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου ταῦτά φησιν¹, „τινὲς μὲν οὖν τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἠθέτησαν καὶ ἀνεσκεύασαν πάντη τὸ βιβλίον, καθ' ἕκαστον κεφάλαιον διευθύνοντες ἄγνωστόν τε καὶ ἀσυλλόγιστον ἀποφαίνοντες ψεύδεσθαί τε τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν. 2. Ἰωάννου γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀποκάλυψιν εἶναι τὴν σφόδρα καὶ παχεῖ κεκαλυμμένην τῷ τῆς ἀγνοίας παραπετάσματι, καὶ οὐχ ὅπως τῶν ἀποστόλων τινά, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὅλως τῶν ἀγίων ἢ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τούτου γεγονέναι ποιητὴν τοῦ γράμματος, Κήρινθον δὲ τὸν καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου κληθεῖσαν Κηρινθιανὴν συστησάμενον αἵρεσιν, ἀξιόπιστον ἐπιφημίσαι θελήσαντα τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πλάσματι ὄνομα. 3. τοῦτο γὰρ εἶναι τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ τὸ δόγμα, ἐπίγειον ἔσσεσθαι τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείαν, καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὠρέγετο, φιλοσώματος ὧν καὶ πάνν σαρκικός, ἐν τούτοις ὄνειροπολεῖν ἔσσεσθαι, γαστροὺς καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γαστέρα πλησμοναῖς, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ γάμοις καὶ δι' ὧν εὐφημότερον ταῦτα ᾤήθη ποριεῖσθαι, ἑορταῖς καὶ θυσίαις καὶ ἱερείων σφαγαῖς,,.

theophania, ed. MPG 24
after 323

(c. 685-688)

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἦκον Ἑβραϊκοῖς χαρακτηῆσιν Εὐαγγέλιον τὴν ἀπειλὴν οὐ κατὰ τοῦ ἀποκρύψαντος ἐπῆγεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοῦ ἀσώτως ἐξηκότος. Τρεῖς γὰρ δούλους περιεῖχε, τὸν μὲν καταφαγόντα τὴν ὑπαρξίν τοῦ δεσπότου μετὰ πορνῶν καὶ αὐλητριδῶν, τὸν δὲ πολλὰ πλασιάσαντα τὴν ἐργασίαν, τὸν δὲ κατακρύψαντα τὸ τάλαντον· εἶτα τὸν μὲν ἀποδεχθῆναι, τὸν δὲ μεμφθῆναι μόνον τὸν δὲ συγκλεισθῆναι δισμωτηρίῳ. Ἐφίστημι, μήποτε κατὰ τὸν Ματθαῖον μετὰ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τοῦ λόγου τοῦ κατὰ τοῦ μηδὲν ἐργασαμένου ἢ ἐξῆς ἐπιλεγομένη ἀπειλή οὐ περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ προτέρου κατ' ἐπανάληψιν λέλεκται τοῦ ἐσθίουτος καὶ πίνοντος μετὰ τῶν μεθυόντων.

theophania syriaca, ed. Gressmann, in: GCS III

IV 12 (p. 183)

Er lehrte aber die Ursache der Seelenspaltung, die in den Häusern geschehen würde, wie wir irgendwo in dem Evangelium gefunden haben,

¹ Dionysius.

VII 25 1-3

1. Afterwards he speaks in this manner of the Apocalypse of John: "Some before us have set aside and rejected the book altogether, criticising it chapter by chapter and pronouncing it without sense and illogical and saying that its title is fraudulent. 2. For they say that it is not the work of John nor is it a revelation because it is covered thickly and densely by a veil of obscurity. And they affirm that none of the apostles and none of the saints nor any one in the Church is the author of this work but Cerinthus who also founded the sect which was called after him, the Cerinthian, wanting to give his own fiction a reputable name. 3. For the doctrine which he taught was this: that the kingdom of Christ will be an earthly one. And he dreamt that it would consist in those things he himself was devoted to, because he was a lover of the body and altogether carnal, namely in the delights of the belly and of sexual passion that is to say, in eating and drinking and marrying and — because of this the thought he could provide himself with a more popular fame — in festivals and sacrifices and the slaying of victims.

theophania

Since the Gospel which has come to us in Hebrew letters directs its threat not against the one who has hidden (his talent) but against the one who lived in spendthrift — for he possessed three slaves, one who spend the fortune of his master with harlots and flute-girls, the second who multiplied his trade and the third who hid his talent; next the first was accepted, the second rebuked only, the third, however, was thrown into prison — I wonder whether the threat in Matthew which, according to the letter was spoken against the one who did nothing, applies not to him but to the first one who was eating and drinking with those who were drunken, by way of resumption.

das unter den Juden in hebräischer Sprache (verbreitet) ist, in dem es heisst: "Ich wähle je die Besten mir aus, die mir mein Vater im Himmel gibt."

onomasticon, ed. de Lagarde
before 331

p. 284, 37-285, 1

Ναζαρέθ (Matth. 2,23). ὁθεν ὁ Χριστὸς Ναζωραῖος ἐκλήθη, 'καὶ Ναζαρηνοὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἡμεῖς οἱ νῦν Χριστιανοί.

p. 301, 32-34

Χωβά (Gen. 14,15). „ἡ ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Δαμασκοῦ,,. ἔστιν δὲ καὶ *Χωβά* κώμη ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς μέρεσιν, ἐν ᾗ εἰσιν Ἑβραίων οἱ εἰς Χριστὸν πιστεύσαντες, Ἑβριωναῖοι καλούμενοι.

de eccles. theol., ed. Klostermann, in: GCS IV
337

I 14 (p. 74)

καὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν οἱ πρωτοκήρυκες Ἑβριωναίους ὠνόμαζον, Ἑβραϊκῇ φωνῇ πτωχοὺς τὴν διάνοιαν ἀποκαλοῦντες, τοὺς ἕνα μὲν θεὸν λέγοντας εἰδέναι, καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος τὸ σῶμα μὴ ἀρνούμενους, τὴν δὲ τοῦ υἱοῦ θεότητα μὴ εἰδόμενους.

I 20 (p. 88)

ὁ δὲ πάλαι μὲν Ἑβριωναῖοι νεωστὶ δὲ ὁ Σαμοσατεὺς καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ κλην ἐξ αὐτοῦ Παυλιανοὶ φρονήσαντες δυσφήμων ὑπέμειναν δίκην.

ALEXANDER OF ALEXANDRIA

epist., ed. *MPG* 18
ca. 324

IX (c. 561A)

Αὐτοὶ γὰρ θεοδίδακτοὶ ἐστε, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι ἡ ἑναγχος ἐπαναστάσα τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ εὐσεβείᾳ διδασκαλίᾳ, Ἑβριωνός ἐστι καὶ Ἀρτεμᾶ, καὶ ζήλος τοῦ κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν Παύλου τοῦ Σαμοσατέως, συνόδῳ καὶ κρίσει τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ ἐπισκόπων ἀποκηρυχθέντος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας· ...

onomasticon

p. 138, 24-25

Nazareth. From this name Christ was called Nazoraean and we being now called Christians received in the past the name Nazarenes.

p. 172, 1-3

Coba. "This is to the left of Damascus". There is also a village Choba in the same region in which live those of the Hebrews who believed in Christ, called Ebionites.

de eccl. theol.

I 14

The first preachers of our Saviour himself called them by a Hebrew name Ebionites, indicating them to be poor of understanding. They say they know one God and do not deny the body of the Saviour, but they do not recognise the divinity of the Son.

I 20

The Ebionites in the past, and recently the one from Samosata and those who are called Paulinians after him, await judgement because they are mindful of shameful things.

ALEXANDER OF ALEXANDRIA

epist.

IX

For you yourselves have been taught of God. You are not ignorant that this doctrine which has lately set up against the piety of the Church is that of Ebion and Artemas; and you know about the envy of Paul of Samosata, of Antioch, who by the counsel and judgment of the bishops everywhere was banished from the Church.

HILARY OF POITIERS

de trinitate, ed, *MPL* 10
356/359

I 26 (c. 41A/C)

Septimus deinceps liber, secundum perfectae fidei gradum, susceptae disputationis sermonem temperavit. Namque primum, per inviolabilis fidei sanam et incorruptam demonstrationem, inter Sabellium et Hebionem et hos non veri Dei praedicatores lite certavit, cur Sabellius subsistere ante saecula negaret, quem creatum alii confiterentur ... Hebion autem ab utroque ita vincitur, ut hic (Arius) ante saecula subsistentem, hic (Sabellius) verum Deum convincat operatum. Omnesque se invicem vincendo vincuntur: quia Ecclesia et contra Sabellium, et contra creaturae praedicatores, et contra Hebionem, Deum verum ex Deo vero Dominum Jesum Christum, et ante saecula natum, et postea hominem genitum esse testatur.

II 4 (c. 52B-53A)

... ut Hebion omne initium filio Dei ex Maria concedens, non ex Deo hominem, sed ex homine Deum proferat; neque subsistens antea quod in principio apud Deum erat Deus Verbum virgo susceperit, sed carnem genuerit per verbum; quia in Verbo antea, non existentis unigeniti Dei naturam dicat, sed sonum vocis elatum: ...

II 23 (c. 65B)

Subrepat Hebion, initium filio Dei ex Maria concedens, et Verbum a diebus carnis intelligens.

VII 3 (c. 201A/B)

Natum quoque Dei filium ex Maria dicturo, Hebion quod est Photinus assistit, auctoritatem mendacii sui ex professionis veritate sumpturnus.

VII 7 (c. 205A)

Jam vero qua fidei nostrae victoria Hebion, qui Photinus est, aut vincit aut vincitur: ...

HILARY OF POITIERS

de trinitate

I 26

Next the seventh book, according to the level of the perfect faith, delivers its sermon which has been taken up for debate. First with the announcement of the indistortable proof of the inviolable faith, it takes part in the conflict raging between Sabellius and Hebion and those who do not preach the true God since Sabellius denies him to exist before all ages, whom others confess as having been created ... Hebion, however, is refuted by both since the one demonstrates that he existed before all ages and the other that he operated as the true God. And all are refuted because they refuted each other in turn, while the Church witnesses both against Sabellius and against those who preach Christ as a creature, as also against Hebion asserting that the Lord Jesus Christ is true God of true God, born before all ages and later born as man.

II 4

... like Hebion agrees that the Son of God was born of Mary but does not show him as being man from God but God from man. The virgin, he says, did not receive the word that existed before all things that was in the beginning with God and was God but she bore flesh by way of the Word, since he denied that the nature of the existing only-begotten God was formerly in the Word, but said that the Word was the sound coming from the voice.

II 23

Let Hebion come sneaking along deceitfully admitting that the beginning of the Son of God is with Mary and accepting that the word began only in the days of the flesh (incarnation).

VII 3

Now I am going to say that the son of God is born of Mary, Hebion, this means Photinus, will stand by who wants to adopt the authority for his lie from the proclamation of truth.

VII 7

Again, how glorious a victory for our faith is that Ebion — in other words, Photinus — both wins and is overcome.

OPTATUS OF MILEVIS

de schism. donatist., ed. Ziwsa, in: *CSEL* 26

1st ed. 365, 2nd ed. 385

IV 5 (p. 108)

dixit (scil. Paulus) hoc de haereticis, quorum coeperat illis temporibus uitiosa esse doctrina ... ut Ebion (this reading according to the manuscripts, but cf. note in the edition referring to Praxeas) qui argumentabatur patrem passum esse ...

EPIPHANIUS

ancoratus, ed. Holl, in: *GCS* I

374

13 3 (p. 21)

... Κηρινθιανοί, οἱ καὶ Μηρινθιανοί, Ναζωραῖοι, Ἑβιωναῖοι ...

13 5 (p. 21)

...Σαμψαῖοι, οἱ καὶ Ἑλκεσαῖοι, ...

panarion, ed. Holl, in: *GCS* I, II, III

ca. 376

19 1 1-6 4 (I, p. 217-224)

1.1 Μετὰ ταύτην πάλιν ἄλλη τις αἵρεσις ταύταις παραπεπλεγμένη, ἢ τῶν Ὑσσαίων καλουμένη. Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ οὗτοι ὡς καὶ αἱ προειρημένοι, ὑποκριταὶ τὸν τρόπον δεινοὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν. 2. ὠρμῶντο δὲ οὗτοι, ὡς ἢ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθοῦσα περιέχει παράδοσις, ἀπὸ τῆς Ναβατικῆς χώρας καὶ Ἰτουραίας, Μωαβίτιδος τε καὶ Ἀριηλίτιδος, τῶν ἐπέκεινα τῆς κοιλάδος τῆς ἀλυκῆς οὕτως ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ κληθείσης ὑπερκειμένων χωρῶν· ἔστι δὲ αὕτη ἡ νεκρὰ καλουμένη θάλασσα. 3. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ γένος τῶν Ὑσσαίων ἐρμηνεύεται διὰ τῆς ἐκδόσεως τοῦ ὀνόματος στιβαρὸν γένος. 4. συνήφθη δὲ τούτοις μετέπειτα ὁ καλούμενος Ἥλξαι ἐν χρόνοις βασιλείως Τραιανοῦ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος παρουσίαν, ὃς ἐγένετο ψευδοπροφήτης· συνεγράψατο δὲ οὗτος βιβλίον δῆθεν κατὰ προφητείαν ἢ ὡς κατὰ ἔνθεον σοφίαν· φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλον τινὰ Ἰεξαῖον εἶναι ἀδελφὸν τούτου. 5. γέγονε δὲ οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος πεπλανημένος τὸν τρόπον ἀπατηλὸς τὴν γνώμην, ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων ὀρμώμενος καὶ τὰ Ἰουδαίων φρονῶν, κατὰ νόμον δὲ μὴ πολιτευόμενος, ἕτερα ἀνθ' ἐτέρων

OPTATUS OF MILEVIS

de schism. donatist.

IV 5

He said this about the heretics whose vicious doctrine began to spread in those times ... like Ebion who argued that the Father has suffered ...

EPIPHANIUS

ancoratus

13 3

... Cerinthians, also called Merinthians ... Nazoraeans ... Ebionites ...

13 5

Sampsaeans, also called Elkesaites

panarion

19 1 1-6 4

1.1 After that heresy another one has intermingled with these viz the so-called heresy of the Ossaeans. 2. Like the above mentioned they are Jews, hypocrites in their way of life and crafty in their ideas. According to the contents of the tradition that has come to us, they originated from the region of Nabataea and Ituraca, Moabitis and Arielitis, from the regions that are situated at the other side of the lake that in the Holy Scripture is called Dead Sea. 3. "Strong race" is the meaning of this race of the Ossaeans taken from a translation of this name 4. Later they were joined by a man called Elxai, in the time of the emperor Trajan, after the coming of the Saviour. He was a pseudo-prophet. He wrote a book based upon a supposed prophecy or an assumed divinely inspired wisdom. It is said, that there exists also somebody else, Iexai, his brother. 5. This man erred with regard to his way of life and he was a deceiver with regard to his conceptions. Although he originated among the Jews and was Jewish-minded, he did not live according to the Law. He substituted some

παρεισφέρων καὶ [τὴν] ἰδίαν αὐτῷ αἵρεσιν πλάσας, 6. ἅλας καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ἄρτον καὶ οὐρανὸν καὶ αἰθέρα καὶ ἄνεμον ὄρκον αὐτοῖς εἰς λατρείαν ὀρισάμενος· ποτὲ δὲ πάλιν ἄλλους μάρτυρας ἑπτὰ ὀρισάμενος, τὸν οὐρανὸν φημι καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ πνεύματα, <ὥς> φησιν, ἅγια καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους τῆς προσευχῆς καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον καὶ τὸ ἅλας καὶ τὴν γῆν. 7. ἀπεχθάνεται δὲ τῇ παρθενίᾳ, μισεῖ δὲ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν, ἀναγκάζει δὲ γαμεῖν· φαντασιώδη δὲ τινα ὡς δῆθεν <ἐξ> ἀποκαλύψεως παρεισφέρει, 8. ὑπόκρισιν δὲ διδάσκει, φήσας μὴ εἶναι ἁμαρτίαν, εἰ καὶ <τις> παρατύχοι εἰδῶλα προσκυνήσας καιρῷ ἐνστάντος διωγμοῦ, εἰ μόνον ἐν τῇ συνειδήσει μὴ προσκυνήσῃ, καὶ ὃ τι εἰς ὁμολογήσῃ στόματι, ἐν δὲ τῇ καρδίᾳ μὴ. 2.1. μάρτυρα δὲ τινα παρεισφερῶν οὐκ αἰσχύνεται ὁ ἀπατεῶν, λέγων Φινεὲς τινα ἱερέα τῶν ἀπὸ γένους Λευὶ τε καὶ Ἀαρὼν καὶ τοῦ ἀρχαίου Φινεὲς ἐν τῇ Βαβυλῶνι ἐπὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας προσκυνήσαντα τὴν Ἀρτεμιν ἐν Σούσοις διαπεφευγέναι ὄλεθρον θανάτου ἐπὶ Δαρείου τοῦ βασιλέως· ὥστε εἶναι αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα ψευδῆ καὶ μάταια.

2. Οὗτος μὲν οὖν <ὥς> ἄνω <εἴρηται> συνῆπται τῇ προειρημένῃ αἵρέσει τῇ τῶν Ὀσσοαίων καλουμένῃ, ἧς ἔτι λείψανα καὶ δεῦρο ὑπάρχει ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ναβατίτιδι γῇ τῇ καὶ Περαιᾷ πρὸς τῇ Μωαβίτιδι· ὅπερ γένος νυνὶ Σαμψαίων καλεῖται. φαντάζονται δὲ δῆθεν καλεῖν τοῦτον δύναμιν ἀποκεκαλυμμένην, διὰ τὸ ἥλ καλεῖσθαι δύναμιν, ξατ δὲ κεκαλυμμένον. 3. ἠλέγχθη δὲ τὸ πᾶν τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύματος φρύαγμα καὶ εἰς μεγάλην αἰσχύνην ὑπέπεσε παρὰ τοῖς δυναμένοις τὰ ἀληθῆ κατανοεῖν τε καὶ ἀκριβοῦν. ἔτι γὰρ καὶ δεῦρο ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν Κωνσταντίου τε καὶ τῶν νῦν βασιλέων. 4. ἕως μὲν γὰρ Κωνσταντίου ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἡλξατ Μαρθοῦς τις καὶ Μαρθᾶνα δύο ἀδελφαὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν χώρα ἀντὶ θεῶν προσεκυνοῦντο, ὅτι δῆθεν ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος τοῦ προειρημένου Ἡλξατ ὑπῆρχον. τέθνηκεν δὲ ἡ Μαρθοῦς πρὸ ὀλίγου τοῦ χρόνου, Μαρθᾶνα δὲ εἰς ἔτι δεῦρο ὑπῆρχεν. 5. ὦν καὶ τὰ πτύσματα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τοῦ σώματος ῥύπη ἀπεφέροντο οἱ πεπλανημένοι αἰρετικοὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ χώρᾳ, δῆθεν πρὸς ἀλέξῃσιν νοσημάτων. οὐ μὴν ἐνῆργουν· ἀλλὰ τὸ πεπλανημένον σοβαρὸν αἰεὶ καὶ πρὸς ἀπάτην ἔτοιμον· τυφλὸν γὰρ ἡ κακία καὶ ἀσύνετον ἡ πλάνη.

3.4. ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν δῆθεν μὲν Χριστὸν ὀνόματι ὁμολογεῖ, λέγων ὅτι Χριστὸς ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς· οὐ μὴν πάννυ γε κατείληφα ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ δολερᾶς καὶ παραπεποιημένης συντάξεως τῆς βίβλου τῆς αὐτοῦ ληρωδίας εἰ περὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑφηγήσατο· οὔτε γὰρ τοῦτο ὀρίζει, Χριστὸν δὲ ἀπλῶς λέγει, ὡς ἐξ ὧν κατειλήφαμεν

things for others and formed his own heresy. He ordained to them as witnesses to an oath which has to be honoured: 6. salt, water, earth, bread, heaven, air and wind. Then again he ordained seven other witnesses, I mean, heaven, water, the holy spirits, as he says, and the angels of prayer, olive-oil, salt and earth. 7. He detests virginity and hates chastity and compels people to marry. He introduces some fantastic things supposed to be based upon revelation 8. and he teaches hypocrisy since he said that there exists no sin. Even if somebody may have worshipped idols at some time during a persecution (he did not sin), unless he worshipped them deliberately for he who may have confessed with his tongue, does not confess with his heart.

2 1. The deceiver does not shrink from adducing a witness for this practice saying that a certain Phineas, a priest from the family of Levi and Aaron and of the old Phineas worshipped the Artemis in Susa during the exile in Babylon and that in this way he escaped the destruction of death under king Darius. From this it appears that everything is false and vain with him.

2. This one, then, as said above, joined the above mentioned so-called heresy of the Ossaeans of which a remnant is left up to the present day in that same country Nabatitis and Perea, near Moabitis. This race is called Sampsaeans at the present. They hold illusory ideas calling him "hidden power", since "el" means power and "xai" means hidden. 3. All their arrogant practices have been refuted and fell into disgrace with those who are able to understand the truth and know it exactly. 4. For up to the present day, in the time of Constantine and the present emperors, (this heresy exists). 5. For up to the time of Constantine two sisters, originating from the family of this Elxai, a certain Marthous and Marthana, are worshipped as goddesses in their country since they are descendants of the above mentioned Elxai. Marthous died a short time ago but Marthana is still alive up to now. Their spittle and the rest of the dirt of their body are carried about by those erring heretics in that country with the apparent intention of using it to ward off illnesses. This had no effect whatsoever but erring pride is always ready to use deceit. For wickedness is blindness and error is stupidity.

3 4. But next he also confesses Christ in name, saying that Christ is the great king. But I did not fully understand from the deceitful and falsified contents of the book packed with his boastings whether he was speaking about our Lord Jesus Christ. For he does not state that explicitly but only mentioned Christ as if he — as far as we understood

τινὰ ἕτερον σημαίνων ἢ προσδοκῶν. 5. κωλύει γὰρ εἰς ἀνατολὰς εὐξασθαι, φάσκων μὴ δεῖν προσέχειν οὕτως, ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα δὲ ἔχειν τὸ πρόσωπον ἐκ πάντων τῶν μερῶν, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν εἰς δύσιν προσέχειν τῇ Ἱερουσαλήμ, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ δύσεως εἰς ἀνατολὴν τῇ αὐτῇ, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ ἄρκτου εἰς μεσημβρίαν καὶ ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας εἰς ἄρκτον, ὡς πανταχόθεν τὸ πρόσωπον ἀντικρυς εἶναι τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ. καὶ ὅρα τὴν τοῦ ἀπατεῶνος φρενοβλάβειαν. 6. ἀναθεματίζει μὲν γὰρ θυσίας καὶ ἱερουργίας ὡς ἀλλοτρίας οὕσας θεοῦ καὶ μήτε ὅλως θεῷ ἐκ τῶν πατέρων καὶ τοῦ νόμου ποτέ προσενεχθείσας καὶ λέγει ἐκεῖ δεῖν εὐχασθαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, ὅπου ἦν τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ αἱ θυσίαι, <ὁ> ἄρνούμενος τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις σαρκοφαγίαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τό τε πῦρ ὡς θεοῦ ἀλλότριον, 7. τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ εἶναι δεξιὸν πῦρ δὲ ἀλλότριον εἶναι φάσκων διὰ τούτων τῶν λέξεων· „τέκνα, μὴ πρὸς τὸ εἶδος τοῦ πυρὸς πορεύεσθε, ὅτι πλανᾶσθε· πλάνη γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον. ὁρᾷς γάρ, φησὶν, αὐτὸ ἐγγυτάτω καὶ ἔστιν ἀπὸ πόρρωθεν· μὴ πορεύεσθε πρὸς τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ, πορεύεσθε δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ ὕδατος., καὶ πολλὰ ἐστὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ μυθολογήματα.

4.1. Εἴτα δὲ διαγράφει Χριστὸν τινὰ εἶναι δύναμιν, οὗ καὶ τὰ μέτρα σημαίνει, εἰκοσιτεσσάρων μὲν σχοίνων τὸ μήκος ὡς μιλίων ἐνενηκονταῆς τὸ δὲ πλάτος σχοίνων ἑξ μιλίων εἰκοσιτεσσάρων, καὶ τὸ πάχος ὁμοίως τερατευόμενος καὶ τοὺς πόδας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μυθολογήματα. 2. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα καὶ αὐτὸ θήλειαν, ὅμοιον τῷ Χριστῷ, ἀνδριάντος δίκην ὑπὲρ νεφέλην καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον δύο ὁρέων ἐστός. καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σιωπήσω, ἵνα μὴ εἰς μυθολογίαν φαντασιάσω τὴν ἀκοὴν τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων. 3. τίσι δὲ λόγοις καὶ κενοφωνίαις ὕστερον ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ ἀπατᾷ λέγων „μηδεὶς ζητήσῃ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ τάδε λεγέτω,,, καὶ αὐτὰ δῆθεν ἀπὸ Ἑβραϊκῆς διαλέκτου μετενέγκας, ὡς ἀπὸ μέρους κατειλήφαμεν, οὐδὲν ὄντα τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ φανταζόμενα. φάσκει γὰρ λέγειν „ἀβὰρ ἀνὶδ μωῖβ νωχιλὲ δασσίμ ἀνὴ δασσίμ νωχιλὲ μωῖβ ἀνὶδ ἀβὰρ σελάμ,,, ἅτινα ἐρμηνευόμενα ἔχει τὴν σαφήνειαν ταύτην· 4. „παρελθέτω ταπεινώσεις <ή> ἐκ τῶν πατέρων μου τῆς κατακρίσεως αὐτῶν καὶ καταπατήματος αὐτῶν καὶ πόνου αὐτῶν, καταπατήματι ἐν κατακρίσει διὰ τῶν πατέρων μου, ἀπὸ ταπεινώσεως παρελθούσης ἐν ἀποστολῇ τελειώσεως.,,

5.1. Αὕτη γοῦν ἡ αἴρεσις ἡ τῶν Ὀσσηνῶν ἄνω προειρημένη, ἡ πολιτευομένη μὲν τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων πολιτείαν κατὰ τὸ σαββατίζειν τε καὶ περιτέμεσθαι καὶ τοῦ νόμου ποιεῖν τὰ πάντα· μόνον δὲ <τῷ>

the meaning — means or supposes somebody else. 5. For he forbids praying in the direction of the East, saying that one has not to turn oneself into that direction but that one has to turn one's face from all regions to Jerusalem, so that those in the East have to turn to the West and those in the West to the East in the direction of Jerusalem, in the same way those in the North to the South and those in the South to the North in order that a man in all regions faces Jerusalem. Behold the madness of this deceiver. 6. For on the one hand he curses the sacrifices and the cult as things being strange to God and having not been offered to God at all as appears from the Fathers and the Law, but on the other hand he says that one has to pray in the direction of Jerusalem, where had been the altar and the sacrifices, refusing to eat meat, like the Jews, and other things and rejecting the altar and fire as being abhorrent to God. 7. With these words he says that water is acceptable to God but that fire is strange to Him: "Children, do not go to what is fire for in that case you shall err. For this is an error. For, he says, you see it as something quite near, but actually it is very far away. Do not go to that but rather to the sound of water". For he knows a great many fables.

4 1. Next he describes Christ as a power of whom he also gives the dimensions: his length is 24 schoinoi, that means 96 miles, his breadth is 6 schoinoi, which is 24 miles and concerning his width, his feet and the other fables he repeats similar fairy-tales. 2. Also the Holy Spirit is said to be like Christ, but she is a female being, like a statue rising above the clouds and standing between two mountains. But I shall be silent about the rest lest I tell the reader all kinds of fables. 3. Later in his book he speaks the following deceitful words full of empty talk: "Nobody must look for the significance, but he must say the following words in his prayer" (the following he apparently took from the Hebrew as far as we have understood partially though his phantasies possess no meaning), for he says: "abar anid moib nochile daasim ane daasim nochile moib anid abar selam", which where translated has the following understandable meaning: 4. The humiliation must pass which is from my fathers, viz. their condemnation, their trampling and their burden my trampling exists in the condemnation because of my fathers, from the humiliation which I escaped because of the sending of the fulfilment (translation uncertain).

5 1. This, then, is the heresy of the Ossaeans which has been mentioned above, which follows the Jewish way of life in observing the Sabbath, circumcision and doing everything the Law prescribes. Only, because

ἀπαγορεύειν τὰς βίβλους <Μωυσέως> ὁμοίως τοῖς Νασσαραίοις σχίσμα [δὲ] ἐργάζεται αὕτη, διαφορομένη πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἐξ τούτων τῶν ἑπτὰ αἵρέσεων.

4. Καὶ παρελεύσομαι καὶ ταύτην τὴν αἵρεσιν. συνήπται γὰρ οὗτος πάλιν ὁ Ἡλξαῖ τοῖς μετὰ τὸν Χριστὸν Ἑβιωναίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Ναζωραίοις τοῖς μετέπειτα γεγονόσι. καὶ κέχρηται αὐτῷ τέσσαρες αἵρέσεις, ἐπειδὴ θέλγονται τῇ αὐτοῦ πλάνῃ· <ή> Ἑβιωναίων τε τῶν μετέπειτα <γεγονότων καὶ> Ναζωραίων, Ὀσσαίων τε τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ Νασσαραίων τῶν ἄνω μοι προδεδηλωμένων.

6.4. πονηρὸς δὲ ἄρα καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ Ἡλξαῖ λαλήσας, ὁ καταναγκάσας οὐ μόνον ἐν θεῷ ὁμνῦναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἀλί καὶ ἐν ὕδατι καὶ <ἐν ἄρτῳ καὶ> ἐν αἰθέρι καὶ ἐν ἀνέμῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ.

anacephalaisios, tom. 2

28-30 4 (I, p. 236)

28. Κηρινθιανοί, οἱ καὶ Μηρινθιανοί. οὗτοι οἱ ἀπὸ Κηρίνθου καὶ Μηρίνθου Ἰουδαῖοι τινες περιτομὴν αὐχοῦντες, τὸν δὲ κόσμον ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων γεγενῆσθαι, Ἰησοῦν δὲ κατὰ προκοπὴν Χριστὸν καλεῖσθαι λέγοντες.

29. Ναζωραῖοι, Χριστὸν ὁμολογοῦντες Ἰησοῦν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, πάντα δὲ κατὰ νόμον πολιτευόμενοι.

30.1. Ἑβιωναῖοι, παραπλήσιοι τῶν προειρημένων Κηρινθιανῶν καὶ Ναζωραίων, οἷς συνήφθη κατὰ τι ἢ τῶν Σαμψαίων τε καὶ Ἑλκεσαίων αἵρεσις, 2. οἱ Χριστὸν φασιν ἐκτίσθαι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ἐνδημήσαντα δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ πρῶτον καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν ἐκδυόμενον αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ πάλιν ἐνδυόμενον. τοῦτο γάρ φασιν ἐπιτετελεκέναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἐνσάρκῳ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ. Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ ὄντες εὐαγγελίοις κέχρηται, 3. σαρκοφαγίαν βδελύττονται, τὸ ὕδωρ δὲ ἀντὶ θεοῦ ἔχουσι, τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῇ ἐνσάρκῳ παρουσίᾳ ἐνδεδύσθαι, ὡς ἔφην. 4. συνεχῶς δὲ βαπτίζονται ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι θέρους τε καὶ χειμῶνος, εἰς ἀγνισμὸν δῆθεν ὥσπερ οἱ Σαμαρεῖται.

28 1 1-8 2 (I, p. 313-320)

1.1. Κήρινθος δὲ ἀθθῖς, ἀφ' οὗπερ οἱ Κηρινθιανοὶ λεγόμενοι, ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς θηριώδους σπορᾶς τὸν ἰὸν τῷ κόσμῳ φέρων ἦκει· σχεδὸν δὲ οὐδὲν ἕτερον παρὰ τὸν προειρημένον Καρποκράν, ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ κόσμῳ κακοποιὰ φάρμακα ἐκβλυστάνει. 2. τὰ ἴσα γὰρ τῷ προειρημένῳ εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν συκοφαντήσας ἐξηγείται καὶ οὗτος, ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ

he rejected the books of Moses, like the Nasaraeans he effected a schism, showing a difference with the other six of these seven heresies.

4 1. shall also pass over this heresy. For later this Elxai joined the Ebionites who lived after Christ, but also the Nazoraeans who originated afterwards. Four heresies made use of him because they were won over by his deceit: those of the Ebionites and the Nazoraeans who came after them, the Ossaeans who were before him and with him and the Nasaraeans of whom I gave a description above.

6 4. Therefore, he also is wicked who speaks according to what is found in the book of Elxai compelling men not only to swear by God but also by salt and water and (bread and) air and wind and earth and heaven.

anacephalaiosis

t.2 28-30

28. The Cerinthians, also called the Merinthians. They take their name from Cerinthus and Merinthus, being Jews they are proud of circumcision. They say that the world was created by angels and that Jesus was called Christ because of his progress (in virtue).

29. The Nazoraeans. They confess that Jesus is the Christ, Son of God, but they live in every way according to the Law.

30 1. The Ebionites. They are similar to the above mentioned Cerinthians and Nazoraeans. The heresy of the Sampsaean and the Elkesaites joined with them. 2. They say that Christ was created in heaven, and also the Holy Spirit. Christ dwelt in Adam at the beginning and in the course of time he withdrew from Adam and put him on again. They say that this brought him to perfection at his coming in the flesh. They are Jews. They use Gospels. 3. Eating meat is abominable to them. They consider water to be divine. As I said, Christ put on a man at his coming in the flesh. 4. They often baptise themselves in water, summer and winter, for sanctification, like the Samaritans.

28 1 1-8

1. Cerinthus from whom the Cerinthians received their name came to bring the venom of his beastly seed into the world. He does not differ very much from the above-mentioned Carpocrates but he pours out the same malicious poisons in the world 2. For, speaking blasphemously against Christ in the same way as the one mentioned above, he

σπέρματος Ἰωσήφ τὸν Χριστὸν γεγενῆσθαι καὶ τὸν κόσμον ὁμοίως ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων γεγενῆσθαι. 3. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ τὸν πρῶτον διήλλαξε τῇ εἰσαγωγῇ τῆς αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν τούτῳ μόνον, ἐν τῷ προσέχειν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ ἀπὸ μέρους. φάσκει δὲ οὗτος τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων δεδόσθαι, τὸν δὲ δεδωκότα τὸν νόμον ἓνα εἶναι τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν τὸν κόσμον πεποιηκότων. 4. ἐγένετο δὲ οὗτος ὁ Κήρινθος ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ διατρίβων κάκεισε τοῦ κηρύγματος τὴν ἀρχὴν πεποιημένος. 5. ἤδη δὲ περὶ τούτου εἴπαμεν ὡς καὶ οὗτος ἐκήρυττεν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης καὶ ἄνωθεν δυνάμεως τὸν κόσμον γεγενῆσθαι, ἄνωθεν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἄνω θεοῦ μετὰ τὸ ἀδρυνηθῆναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν ἐκ σπέρματος Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας γεγεννημένον, κατεληλυθέναι τὸν Χριστὸν εἰς αὐτὸν τουτέστι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐν εἵδει περιστερᾶς ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ καὶ ἀποκαλύψαι αὐτῷ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ἄγνωστον πατέρα. 6. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπειδὴ ἦλθεν εἰς αὐτὸν ἄνωθεν δύναις, δυνάμεις ἐπιτετελεκέναι· καὶ αὐτοῦ πεπονθότος τὸ ἐλθὼν ἄνωθεν ἀναπτῆναι ἄνω ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. 7. πεπονθότα δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ πάλιν ἐγγεγμένον, Χριστὸν δὲ τὸν ἄνωθεν ἐλθόντα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπαθῆ ἀναπάντα, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ κατελθὼν ἐν εἵδει περιστερᾶς, καὶ οὐ τὸν Ἰησοῦν εἶναι Χριστόν.

2.1. Ἐκπέπτωκε δὲ καὶ οὗτος, ὡς ὁράτε πάντες οἱ τῆς ἀληθείας ἔρασταί. φάσκει γὰρ τὸν τὸν νόμον δεδωκότα οὐκ ἀγαθόν, οὐ τῷ νόμῳ πείθεσθαι δοκεῖ, δηλὸν δὲ ὅτι ὡς ἀγαθῷ. 2. πῶς οὖν ὁ πονηρὸς τὸν ἀγαθὸν νόμον δέδωκεν; εἰ γὰρ καλὸν τὸ μὴ μοιχεύειν καὶ καλὸν τὸ μὴ φονεύειν, πόσω γε μᾶλλον ὁ ἐντειλάμενος βελτίων εἴη, ἐάν γε ὁ μὴ πράξας ἀγαθὸς ὁμολογῇται· πῶς δὲ κατηγορηθῆσεται κακὰ πράττων ὁ τὸ ἀγαθὸν συμβουλευὼν καὶ ἀγαθὸν διδούς νόμον; ἀλλὰ μανιώδης ὁ ἀνὴρ τοιούτοις ἐγχειρῶν. 3. οὗτος δὲ ἐστίν, ἀγαπητοί, εἰς τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν ταραχὴν ἐργασαμένων, ὅτε οἱ περὶ Ἰάκωβον γεγράφασιν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπιστολήν, λέγοντες ὅτι „ἔγνωμέν τινας ἐξ ἡμῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθόντας καὶ ταραξάντας ὑμᾶς λόγοις, οἷς οὐ διεστείλαμεθα,,¹ 4. καὶ οὗτος εἰς ἐστὶ τῶν ἀντιστάντων τῷ ἁγίῳ Πέτρῳ, ἐπειδὴ εἰσῆλθε πρὸς Κορνήλιον τὸν ἅγιον, ὅτε μετεστείλατο αὐτὸν καταξιωθείς ὁπτασίας ἀγγέλου καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἐδίσταξε καὶ εἶδεν τὸ ὄραμα τῆς ὁθόνης καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἤκουσε παρὰ κυρίου μηδὲν κοινὸν λέγειν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον. 5. οὗτος οὖν παρεκίνει περὶ τοῦ Πέτρου ἀνελθόντος εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἐκ περιτομῆς λέγων ὅτι „εἰσῆλθε πρὸς ἄνδρας ἀκροβυστίαν ἔχοντας,,² 6. ἐποίησε δὲ τοῦτο Κήριν-

¹ Acts 15,34.

² Acts 11,3.

also declares that Christ was born of Mary and the seed of Joseph, and likewise that the world was made by angels. 3. For this one did not differ in any way from the first one in the elements of his doctrine, except that he adhered to Judaism only partially. For he said that the Law and the Prophets have been given by angels and that the legislator is one of the angels who created the world. 4. When Cerinthus dwelt in Asia he began his preaching there also. 5. We already said of him that he also preached that the world has not been created by the supreme power dwelling on high but that from on high, from God living above — after Jesus, born from the seed of Joseph and Mary, had grown up — Christ, that is the Holy Spirit, descended upon him in the form of a dove in the river Jordan and that he to him and through him to them that were with him revealed the unknown Father. 6. And therefore, since a power from above came upon him, he performed these mighty works. And while he himself suffered, that which came from above flew back again from Jesus on high. 7. Jesus suffered and rose again, but Christ — that means he who descended upon him in the form of a dove — who came from above upon him flew away without suffering. And Jesus is not supposed to be Christ.

2 1. Also he was inconsistent as you, all lovers of the truth can see. For he says that he who gave the Law is not good, whose Law — obviously as something good — he appears to obey. 2. How then was it possible that he who is bad has given a good Law? For if it is good not to commit adultery or to kill how much better would he not be who taught this, if somebody who does not do this is already called good. How then can he who advises what is good and who gives a good Law, be accused of doing something bad? Yes, a madman is he who undertakes such things. 3. This one, beloved, is one of these who caused confusion among the apostles when those with James wrote a letter to Antioch, saying: "We know that some of us have come to you and confused you with words; they are men to whom we gave no orders". 4. And he is one of those who stood up against the holy Peter because he entered the house of the holy Cornelius when he sent for him after being made worthy to see an angel and Peter began to hesitate and he saw the vision of the sheet with the things upon it and he heard from the Lord that he was to call nothing unholy or impure. 5. He then exited the group of those who belong

θος πρὶν ἢ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κηρύξαι τὸ αὐτοῦ κήρυγμα καὶ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τὸ περισσότερον τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀπωλείας βάραθρον. διὰ γὰρ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐμπερίτομον, δῆθεν ἀντιδικίας ἔνεκα τῶν ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ πιστῶν διὰ τῆς περιτομῆς τὴν πρόφασιν ἐθηράσατο.

4.1. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τότε ἐπραγματεύθη κινηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ προειρημένου ψευδαποστόλου Κηρίνθου, ὡς καὶ ἄλλοτε στάσιν αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰργάσαντο ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἱερουσαλήμ, ὅπηνίκα Παῦλος ἀνῆλθε μετὰ Τίτου καὶ ὡς οὗτος ἔφη ὅτι „ἄνδρας ἀκροβύστους εἰσήνεγκε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ,, ἤδη περὶ Τίτου λέγων, „καὶ κεκοίνωκε [φησί] τὸν ἅγιον τόπον,,¹ 2. διὸ καὶ Παῦλος λέγει „ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Τίτος ὁ σὺν ἐμοί, Ἑλλήν ὢν, ἠναγκάσθη περιτμηθῆναι· διὰ δὲ τοὺς παρεισάκτους ψευδαδέλφους, οἵτινες παρεισῆλθον κατασκοπεῖν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν, ἣν ἔχομεν ἐν Χριστῷ, οἷς οὐδὲ πρὸς ὦραν εἵξαμεν τῇ ὑποταγῇ,,² καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ παραγγέλλων ἔλεγεν „μὴ περιτέμνησθε· ὅτι ἐὰν περιτέμνησθε, Χριστὸς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ὠφελήσει,,.

5.1. Χρῶνται γὰρ τῷ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγελίῳ — ἀπὸ μέρους καὶ οὐχὶ ὅλῳ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν γενεαλογίαν τὴν ἔνσαρκον — καὶ ταύτην μαρτυρίαν φέρουσιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου πάλιν λέγοντες ὅτι „ἄρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ ἵνα γένηται ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος,,³ 2. τί οὖν, φησί; περιετμήθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς, περιτμήθητι καὶ αὐτός. Χριστὸς κατὰ νόμον, φησὶν, ἐπολιτεύσατο, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ἴσα ποίησον. ὅθεν καὶ τινες ἐκ τούτων ὡς ὑπὸ δηλητηρίων ὑφαρπαχθέντες πείθονται ταῖς πιθανολογίαις διὰ τὸ τὸν Χριστὸν περιτετμηθῆναι. 3. τὸν δὲ Παῦλον ἀθετοῦσι διὰ τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι τῇ περιτομῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκβάλλουσιν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ εἰρηκέναι „ὅσοι ἐν νόμῳ δικαιοῦσθε, τῆς χάριτος ἐξεπέσατε,,⁴ καὶ ὅτι „ἐὰν περιτέμνησθε, Χριστὸς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ὠφελήσει,,⁵

6.1. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Κήρινθος ἀνόητος καὶ ἀνοήτων διδάσκαλος φάσκει πάλιν τολμήσας Χριστὸν πεπονηέναι καὶ ἐσταυρῶσθαι, μήπω δὲ ἐγῆ-

¹ Acts 21,28.

² Gal. 2,3-5.

³ Matth. 10,25.

⁴ Gal. 5,4.

⁵ Gal. 5,2.

to the circumcision against Peter when he had to come to Jerusalem, saying: "He has been visiting those that are not circumcised". 6. This, then, has been done by Cerinthus before he began to take his preaching to Asia and plunged into an even deeper abyss for his destruction. He did everything to propagate circumcision, ostensibly because the believers among the gentiles offered resistance against it, but in reality because he was circumcised himself.

4 1. But this rebellion has been fomented by the above-mentioned pseudo-apostle Cerinthus, just as he and his companions also revolted at another time in the same city of Jerusalem when Paul arrived there with Titus and he said: "He has brought with him men who are uncircumcised", and added with regard to Titus: 2. "and he has profaned the holy place". Therefore Paul said: "Yet even Titus my companion, though he is a Greek, was not compelled to be circumcised. And this with a view to the false brothers who had stolen in to spy upon our liberty which we possess in Christ to whose dictation we did not yield for one moment". And he told the gentiles, saying: "Do not circumcise yourselves. If you receive circumcision Christ will do you no good at all".

5 1. They use the Gospel according to Matthew — partially and not as a whole, but because of his genealogy speaking about the flesh — and they bring forward the following witness, taking again their words from the Gospel: "It suffices for a pupil to become as his master". 2. How then?, they say: Jesus has been circumcised, you also have to be circumcised. Christ lived according the Law, they say, you also have to do the same. Therefore some of them believe these sophisms, as if being snatched away (destroyed?) by poisons since Christ has been circumcised. 3. They reject Paul because he did not believe in circumcision but they also reject him because he said: "All those of you who expect righteousness in the Law, you have fallen out of grace", and: "if you receive circumcision Christ will do you no good at all".

6 1. This stupid Cerinthus, teacher of stupid men, ventures to say further that Christ suffered and was crucified but has not yet risen

γέρθαι, μέλλειν δὲ ἀνίστασθαι ὅταν ἡ καθόλου γένηται νεκρῶν ἀνάστασις. 2. ἀσύστατα τοῖνυν ταῦτα παρὰ τούτοις, τὰ τε ῥήματα καὶ νοήματα. ὅθεν καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐκπληττόμενος τοῖς μὲν ἀπιστοῦσι τῇ ἀναστάσει τῶν νεκρῶν τῇ μελλούσῃ ἔσεσθαι ἔλεγεν, «εἰ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, οὐδὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται»,¹ καὶ τό «φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν· αὖριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν»,² καὶ τό «μὴ πλανᾶσθε· φθείρουσιν ἡθὴ χρηστὰ ὁμιλίαι κακαί»,³ 3. πάλιν δὲ τοῖς λέγουσι τὸν Χριστὸν μηδέπω ἐγγεγερμένον ὡσαύτως τὸν ἔλεγχον ἐπιφέρει λέγων, «εἰ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται, μάταιον τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν, ματαία καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν. εὕρισκόμεθα δὲ καὶ ψευδομάρτυρες τοῦ θεοῦ, <ὅτι ἐμαρτυρήσαμεν κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ>, ὅτι ἡγείρεν τὸν Χριστόν, εἴπερ οὐκ ἡγείρεν»,⁴ * ὡς τῶν [μὲν] ἀποστόλων κηρυττόντων Χριστὸν μὲν <μηδέπω> ἐγγιγέρθαι, νεκροὺς δὲ μὴ ἐγείρεσθαι. 4. ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ τῇ πατρίδι, φημὶ δὲ Ἀσίᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ πάννυ ἤκμασε τὸ τούτων διδασκαλεῖον, ἐν οἷς καὶ τι παραδόσεως πρᾶγμα ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὡς τινῶν μὲν παρ' αὐτοῖς προφθανόντων τελευτῆσαι ἄνευ βαπτίσματος, ἄλλους δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν εἰς ὄνομα ἐκείνων βαπτίζεσθαι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει ἀναστάντας αὐτοὺς δίκην δοῦναι τιμωρίας βάπτισμα μὴ εἰληφότας, γίνεσθαι δὲ ὑποχειρίους τῆς τοῦ κοσμοποιοῦ ἐξουσίας. 5. καὶ τούτου ἕνεκα ἡ παράδοσις ἡ ἐλθοῦσα εἰς ἡμᾶς φησὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἅγιον ἀπόστολον εἰρηκέναι, «εἰ ὅλως νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, τί καὶ βαπτίζονται ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν»; ⁵ καλῶς δὲ ἄλλοι τὸ ῥητὸν ἐρμηνεύοντές φασιν ὅτι οἱ μέλλοντες τελευτᾶν, ἐπὶ ὧσι κατηχούμενοι, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ἐλπίδι πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς λουτροῦ καταξιοῦνται, δεικνύντες ὅτι ὁ τελευτήσας καὶ ἀναστήσεται καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιδέεται τῆς διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτημάτων. 6. τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν τὸν Χριστὸν μηδέπω ἐγγιγέρθαι κεκηρύχασιν, ἀνίστασθαι δὲ μετὰ πάντων, οἱ δὲ ὅτι ὅλως νεκροὶ οὐκ ἀναστήσονται.

8.1. Καλοῦνται δὲ πάλιν οὗτοι Μηρινθιανοί, ὡς ἡ ἐλθοῦσα εἰς ἡμᾶς φάσις περιέχει. εἴτε γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς Κήρινθος Μήρινθος πάλιν ἐκαλεῖτο, οὐ πάννυ τι σαφῶς περὶ τούτου ἴσμεν, εἴτε ἄλλος τις ἦν Μήρινθος ὀνόματι συνεργὸς τούτου, θεῶ ἔγνωσται. 2. ἤδη γὰρ εἵπαμεν ὅτι

¹ I Cor. 15,16.

² I Cor. 15,32.

³ I Cor. 15,33.

⁴ I Cor. 15,14-15.

⁵ I Cor. 15,20.

again but that he will rise when the general resurrection of the dead takes place. 2. Those things are chaotic with them, their words and ideas. For this reason the Apostle, said, beside himself with astonishment at those who do not believe that there will be a resurrection of the dead in the future: "if the dead will not be raised, then Christ has not yet been raised", and "let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die", and "do not err, bad company corrupts good habits". 3. Next, he refutes those who say that Christ has not yet been raised in the following way: "if Christ has not been raised then our proclamation is empty and empty is our faith. Then we are also found to be false witnesses about Christ (because we witnessed against God, saying that He raised Christ) if he did not raise him". As if it could be that the apostles proclaim on the one hand that Christ has not yet been raised and on the other hand that the dead will not be raised. 4. For in that land, I mean Asia, but also in Galatia, the school of these men became prosperous. With regard to these also a tradition was handed down to us that, if some among them die at an early age without having been baptized, others in their place are baptized in their name in order that they will not be punished when they rise from the dead at the resurrection since they did not receive baptism and they come into the hands of the power who created the world. 5. And therefore, says the tradition which has come down to us that the holy apostle himself said: "If the dead are not raised at all, why then are they baptized for the dead?" But others, interpreting these words in the exact way, say that those who are on the verge of dying and who are catechumens, are supposed to be worthy to be baptized before dying in that hope, making clear that he who died will also rise and that for this reason he is in need of the remission of sins through baptism. 6. Some of them proclaimed that Christ has not yet been raised but that he will rise with all men, other ones say that the dead will not rise at all.

8 1. They are also called Merinthians according to the rumour which reached us. For either Cerinthus himself is also called Merinthus — we are not quite certain with regard to him — or there existed somebody else, called Merinthus, his cooperator. God only knows. 2. For we

οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πολλάκις ἀντέστη τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ· πλὴν ἦτοι αὐτὸς εἴη ἢ καὶ ἄλλος σὺν αὐτῷ συνεργὸς τὰ ὅμοια αὐτῷ φρονῶν καὶ συμπράττων εἰς τὰ ἴσα, οὐδὲν διαφέρει. ἡ γὰρ πᾶσα αὐτῶν κακοτροπία τῆς διδασκαλίας τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν χαρακτῆρα, Κηρινθιανοὶ δὲ ὁμοῦ καὶ Μηρινθιανοὶ οὗτοι καλοῦνται.

29 1 1-9 4 (I, p. 321-332)

1.1. Ναζωραῖοι καθεξῆς τούτοις ἔπονται, ἅμα τε αὐτοῖς ὄντες ἢ καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἢ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἢ μετ' αὐτούς, ὅμως σύγχρονοι· οὐ γὰρ ἀκριβέστερον δύναμαι ἐξειπεῖν τίνες τίνας διεδέξαντο. καθὰ γὰρ ἔφην, σύγχρονοι ἦσαν ἀλλήλοις καὶ ὅμοια ἀλλήλοις κέκτηνται τὰ φρονήματα. 2. οὗτοι γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς ὄνομα ἐπέθεντο οὐχὶ Χριστοῦ οὔτε αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἀλλὰ Ναζωραίων. 3. πάντες δὲ Χριστιανοὶ Ναζωραῖοι τότε ὡσαύτως ἐκαλοῦντο· γέγονε δὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ καλεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ Ἰεσσαίους, πρὶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἀρχὴν λάβωσιν οἱ μαθηταὶ καλεῖσθαι Χριστιανοί.

5.4. ὥς οὖν τότε ἐκαλοῦντο Ἰεσσαῖοι ἐπ' ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ Μάρκου τῇ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων χώρα κηρύξαντος κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους τινὲς ἐξεληλύθασιν πάλιν, τῶν ἀποστόλων δῆθεν ἀκόλουθοι, λέγω δὲ οἱ ἐνταῦθά μοι δηλούμενοι Ναζωραῖοι, ὄντες μὲν κατὰ τὸ γένος Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ τῷ νόμῳ προσανέχοντες καὶ περιτομὴν κεκτημένοι, 5. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τινες θεασάμενοι πῦρ καὶ μὴ νοήσαντες δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οἱ τὴν πυρὰν ταύτην ἐξάψαντες ἢ εἰς <ἦν> χρησιμότητα τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν, ἢ τὰ τῆς ζωῆς ἑαυτῶν ὀψώνια πρὸς ἐδωδὴν διὰ τῆς πυρᾶς κατασκευάζοντες ἢ ἐπὶ ἀφανισμῷ τινων καυστικῶν ξύλων ἢ φρυγάνων τῶν ὑπὸ πυρὸς εἰωθότων ἀναλίσκεσθαι, οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ μιμησάμενοι πῦρ ἀνάψαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐνέπρησαν. 6. ἀκούσαντες γὰρ μόνον ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ καὶ θεασάμενοι τὰ θεοσημεῖα τὰ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων γινόμενα καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰς Ἰησοῦν πιστεύουσιν. γνόντες δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν Ναζαρέτ ἐν γαστρὶ συλληφθέντα καὶ ἐν οἴκῳ Ἰωσήφ ἀνατραφέντα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον καλεῖσθαι, ὥς καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι φασιν „Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον, ἄνδρα ἀποδεδειγμένον ἐν τε σημείοις καὶ τέρασι,¹ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα ἐπιτιθέασιν ἑαυτοῖς τοῦ καλεῖσθαι Ναζωραῖους — 7. οὐχὶ Ναζιραίους, τὸ ἐρμηνευόμενον ἡγιασμένους. τοῦτο γὰρ τοῖς τὸ παλαιὸν πρωτοτόκοις καὶ θεῷ ἀφιερωθεῖσιν ὑπῆρχεν τὸ ἀξίωμα, ὧν εἰς ὑπῆρχεν ὁ Σαμψὼν καὶ ἄλλοι μετ' αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πολλοί, ἀλλὰ

¹ Acts 2,22.

have already said that not only he himself often stood up against the apostles in Jerusalem but also his companions in Asia. However, there is no difference whether it be himself or somebody else, a cooperator, having the same opinions and working on the same ideas. For their entire malicious doctrine bears the same characteristics and they are called both Cerinthians and Merinthians.

29 1 1-9

1. They are succeeded by the Nazoraeans. They lived at the same time, or before them, either with them or after them. In any case they are contemporaries. For I cannot exactly determine who are the successors of whom. For, as I said, they were contemporaries and possessed identical ideas. 2. They did not give themselves the name of Christ, or that of Jesus but they called themselves Nazoraeans. 3. All Christians were called Nazoraeans once. For a short time they were given also the name Iessaeans, before the disciples in Antioch began to be called Christians.

5 4. When they were once called Iessaeans during a short period, some again withdrew at that time after the ascension of the Lord when Mark preached in the land of Egypt. They were so-called followers of the apostles, but I suppose that they were Nazoraeans who are described by me here. By birth they are Jews and they dedicate themselves to the Law and submit to circumcision. 5. But as some happen to see a fire but do not understand why they have kindled the fire or for what purpose they did it — whether to get food ready to eat for their subsistence with the help of fire, or because they are used to destroy with help of fire inflammable wood or firewood — in the same way they have kindled a fire and have set fire to themselves. 6. For after having heard the name of Jesus only and having seen the divine signs performed by the hands of the apostles, they also believed in Jesus. When they came to know that he was conceived in Nazareth and had grown up in the house of Joseph and therefore is called Jesus the Nazorean in the Gospel, as also the apostles say: "Jesus the Nazorean, a man made known by signs and miracles", etc., they gave themselves this name calling themselves Nazoraeans — 7. not Naziraeans which translated, means sanctified ones. For this title of honour was borne in the past by the first-born children who were sanctified to God. Samson belonged to them and others after

καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτιστὴς τῶν αὐτῶν ἀφηγιασμένων τῷ θεῷ καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς ὑπῆρχεν· „οἶνον γὰρ καὶ σίκερα οὐκ ἔπινεν,,¹ ὠρίζετο γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις αὕτη ἀρμόδιος τῷ ἀξιώματι ἢ πολιτεία. 6.1. ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ Νασαραίους ἑαυτοὺς ἐκάλεσαν· ἦν γὰρ ἡ αἵρεσις τῶν Νασαραίων πρὸ Χριστοῦ καὶ Χριστὸν οὐκ ᾔδει —· 2. ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ἐκάλουν Ναζωραίους ὡς προείπον, ὡς λέγουσι κατηγοροῦντες Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου „τοῦτον τὸν ἄνθρωπον ηὔρομεν λοιμὸν καὶ διαστρέφοντα τὸν λαόν, πρωτοστάτην τε ὄντα τῆς τῶν Ναζωραίων αἱρέσεως,,² 3. ὁ δὲ ἅγιος ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἀρνείται μὲν τὸ ὄνομα, οὐχὶ τὴν τούτων αἵρεσιν ὁμολογῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων κακονοίας διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπενεχθὲν αὐτῷ ἀσμένως καταδεχόμενος. 4. φησὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος „οὔτε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ηὔρον με πρὸς τινα διαλεγόμενον ἢ ἐπίστασίν τινα ὄχλου ποιοῦντα οὐδὲ ὦν μου κατηγοροῦσιν οὐδὲν πεποίηκα. ὁμολογῶ δέ σοι τοῦτο, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἦν αἵρεσιν οὗτοι φάσκουσιν οὕτω λατρεύω, πιστεύων πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις,,³ 5. καὶ οὐ θαῦμα ὅτι ὁ ἀπόστολος ὡμολόγει ἑαυτὸν Ναζωραῖον, πάντων καλούντων τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς τότε τούτῳ τῷ ὀνόματι διὰ Ναζαρέτ τὴν πόλιν, ἄλλης μὴ οὔσης χρήσεως τῷ ὀνόματι πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν, ὥστε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους <Ναζωραίους> καλεῖν τοὺς τῷ Χριστῷ πεπιστευκότας, περὶ οὗ καὶ γέγραπται „ὅτι Ναζωραῖος κληθήσεται,,. 6. καὶ γὰρ καὶ νῦν ὁμωνύμως οἱ ἄνθρωποι πάσας τὰς αἱρέσεις, Μανιχαίους τέ φημι καὶ Μαρκιονιστὰς Γνωστικούς τε καὶ ἄλλους, Χριστιανοὺς τοὺς μὴ ὄντας Χριστιανοὺς καλοῦσι καὶ ὁμως ἐκάστη αἵρεσις, καίπερ ἄλλως λεγομένη, καταδέχεται τοῦτο χαίρουσα, ὅτι διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος κοσμεῖται· δοκοῦσι γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σεμνύνεσθαι ὀνόματι, οὐ μὴν τῇ πίστει καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις. 7. οὕτω καὶ οἱ ἅγιοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθηταὶ τότε μαθητὰς Ἰησοῦ ἑαυτοὺς ἐκάλουν, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἦσαν· ἀκούοντες δὲ παρὰ ἄλλων Ναζωραῖοι οὐκ ἀπηναίνοντο, τὸν σκοπὸν θεωροῦντες τῶν τοῦτο αὐτοὺς καλούντων, ὅτι διὰ Χριστὸν αὐτοὺς ἐκάλουν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς <ὁ> Ναζωραῖος ἐκαλεῖτο, ὥσπερ ἔχει τὰ εὐαγγέλια καὶ αἱ Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων, 8. διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει αὐτὸν Ναζαρέτ [κώμη δὲ τὰ νῦν οὔση] ἀνατετράφθαι ἐν οἴκῳ Ἰωσήφ, γεννηθέντα κατὰ σάρκα ἐν Βηθλεέμ ἀπὸ Μαρίας τῆς ἀειπαρθένου τῆς μεμνηστευμένης Ἰωσήφ, τῷ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ναζαρέτ μετωκηκότι μετὰ τὸ ἀπὸ Βηθλεέμ αὐτὸν μεταναστάντα ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ κατοικισθῆναι.

¹ Luke, 1,15.

² Acts 24,5.

³ Acts 24,12.

him and also many before him. But also John the Baptist himself was one of those who were sanctified to God "For he drank no wine and strong drink". This way of life has been determined for such people in agreement with their dignity. 6 1. But they also did not call themselves Nasaraeans, for the heresy of the Nasaraeans existed before Christ and they did not know Him. 2. But also all the men called the Christians Nazoraeans, as I said before. This appears from the accusation against Paul which was as follows: "We discovered that this man is a pest, somebody disturbing the people, the leader of the heresy of the Nazoraeans". 3. The holy Apostle did not deny this name although he was not a follower of their heresy, but he gladly accepted the name which was inspired by the malice of his opponents because it had been born by Christ. 4. For he said at the tribunal: "They did not find me in the temple speaking with somebody or causing a riot. Nothing of what I am accused of, did I do. I admit to you that I serve God in that way which they call a heresy, believing everything which is in the Law and the Prophets". 5. For it is no wonder that the Apostle admitted he was a Nazoraean because everybody called Christians with that name at that time, because of the city of Nazareth and because at that time there was no other name in use. Therefore persons were called Nazoraeans who came to believe in Christ, of whom it is written that he will be called Nazoraean. 6. For also at this time people give all heresies — I mention the Manichaeans, the Marcionites and the Gnostics and all the others — the same name of Christians while they are not Christians. And also every heresy, even if it has a different name, will gladly bear that name because it gives them lustre. For they may suppose that they can be proud of the name of Christ but that does not apply to their belief and works. 7. Likewise the holy disciples of Christ called themselves disciples of Jesus, which they really were. When they heard the name Nazoraeans from others, they did not reject it, because they saw what was meant by those who called them by this name, viz. that they called them by this name because of Christ, since our Lord himself was also called Jesus the Nazoraean, as appears from the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. 8. For he grew up in the city of Nazareth, at the time a village, in the house of Joseph after being born according to the flesh in Bethlehem

7.1. Οὗτοι δὲ οἱ προειρημένοι αἵρεσιῶται, περὶ ὧν ἐνταῦθα τὴν ὑφήγησιν ποιούμεθα, παρέντες τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ οὔτε Ἰεσσαίους ἑαυτοὺς κεκλήκασιν οὔτε τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔμειναν ἔχοντες τὸ ὄνομα οὔτε Χριστιανούς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπωνόμασαν, ἀλλὰ Ναζωραίους, δῆθεν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ τόπου τῆς Ναζαρέτ ἐπωνυμίας, τὰ πάντα δὲ εἰσιν Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον. 2. χρῶνται δὲ οὗτοι οὐ μόνον νέᾳ διαθήκῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ παλαιᾷ διαθήκῃ, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. οὐ γὰρ ἀπηγόρευται παρ' αὐτοῖς νομοθεσία καὶ προφήται καὶ γραφεῖα τὰ καλούμενα παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις βιβλία, ὥσπερ παρὰ τοῖς προειρημένοις· οὐδέ τι ἕτερον οὗτοι φρονοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦ νόμου καὶ ὡς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πάντα καλῶς ὁμολογοῦσι χωρὶς τοῦ εἰς Χριστὸν δῆθεν πεπιστευκέναι. 3. παρ' αὐτοῖς γὰρ καὶ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασις ὁμολογεῖται καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ τὰ πάντα γεγενῆσθαι, ἓνα δὲ θεὸν καταγγέλλουσι καὶ τὸν τούτου παῖδα Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. 4. Ἑβραϊκῇ δὲ διαλέκτῳ ἀκριβῶς εἰσιν ἡσκημένοι. παρ' αὐτοῖς γὰρ πᾶς ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ τὰ γραφεῖα λεγόμενα, φημὶ δὲ τὰ στιχηρὰ καὶ αἱ Βασιλεῖαι καὶ Παραλειπόμενα καὶ Ἑσθῆρ καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα Ἑβραϊκῶς ἀναγινώσκεται, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις. 5. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ μόνον πρὸς Ἰουδαίους διαφέρονται καὶ Χριστιανούς, Ἰουδαίοις μὲν μὴ συμφωνοῦντες διὰ τὸ εἰς Χριστὸν πεπιστευκέναι, Χριστιανοῖς δὲ μὴ ὁμογνωμονοῦντες διὰ τὸ ἔτι νόμῳ πεπεδησθαι, περιτομῇ τε καὶ σαββάτῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. 6. περὶ Χριστοῦ δὲ οὐκ οἶδ' εἰπεῖν, εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῇ τῶν προειρημένων περὶ Κήρινθον καὶ Μήρινθον μοχθηρίᾳ ἀχθέντες ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον νομίζουσιν ἢ καθὼς ἡ ἀλήθεια ἔχει διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου γεγενῆσθαι ἐκ Μαρίας διαβεβαιοῦνται. 7. ἔστιν δὲ αὕτη ἡ αἵρεσις ἡ Ναζωραίων ἐν τῇ Βεροιαίων περὶ τὴν Κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ ἐν τῇ Δεκαπόλει περὶ τὰ τῆς Πέλλης μέρη καὶ ἐν τῇ Βασανίτιδι ἐν τῇ λεγομένῃ Κωκάβῃ, Χωχάβῃ δὲ Ἑβραῖστί λεγομένη. 8. ἐκείθεν γὰρ ἡ ἀρχὴ γέγονε, μετὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων μετάστασιν πάντων τῶν μαθητῶν ἐν Πέλλῃ ψηκηκότων, Χριστοῦ φήσαντος καταλείψαι τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἀναχωρῆσαι δι' ἣν ἡμελλε πάσχειν πολιορκίαν. καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης ὑποθέσεως τὴν Περαιάν οἰκίσαντες ἐκείσε, ὡς ἔφην, διέτριβον. ἐντεῦθεν ἡ κατὰ τοὺς Ναζωραίους αἵρεσις ἔσχεν τὴν ἀρχήν.

9.1. Ἀρκέσει γοῦν καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ αἵρέσει ἢ διὰ τῆς συντομίας παρ' ἡμῶν διάλεξις. εὐθυλέγκτοι γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι καὶ εὐάλωτοι, καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι μᾶλλον καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον. 2. πάνυ δὲ οὗτοι ἐχθροὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις

of Mary, ever virgin, who was betrothed to Joseph. He moved to that same Nazareth when he settled down in Galilee after his departure from Bethlehem.

7 1. These heresies, just mentioned, of which we here are giving a brief sketch, passing over the name of Jesus did not call themselves Iessaeans and did not keep the name Jews; they did not call themselves Christians, but Nazoraeans, taking this name from the place Nazareth. But actually they remained wholly Jewish and nothing else. 2. For they use not only the New Testament but also the Old, like the Jews. For the Legislation and the Prophets and the Scriptures which are called the Bible by the Jews are not rejected by them as they are by those mentioned above. They are not at all mindful of other things but live according to the preaching of the Law as among the Jews: there is not fault to find with them apart from the fact that they have come to believe in Christ. 3. For they also accept the resurrection of the dead and that everything has its origin in God. They proclaim one God and his Son Jesus Christ. 4. They have a good mastery of the Hebrew language. For the entire Law and the Prophets and what is called the Scriptures, I mention the poetical books, Kings, Chronicles and Esther and all the others are read in Hebrew by them as that is the case with the Jews of course. 5. Only in this respect they differ from the Jews and Christians: with the Jews they do not agree because of their belief in Christ, with the Christians because they are trained in the Law, in circumcision, the sabbath and the other things. 6. With regard to Christ I cannot say whether, misled by wickedness of the aforesaid followers of Cerinthus and Merinthus, they believe that he is a mere man or whether, in agreement with the truth, they emphatically declare that he was born of the Holy Spirit from Mary. 7. This heresy of the Nazoraeans exists in Beroea in the neighbourhood of Coele Syria and the Decapolis in the region of Pella and in Basanitis in the so-called Kokaba, Chochabe in Hebrew. 8. For from there it took its beginning after the exodus from Jerusalem when all the disciples went to live in Pella because Christ had told them to leave Jerusalem and to go away since it would undergo a siege. Because of this advice they lived in Perea after having moved to that place, as I said. There the Nazorean heresy had its beginning.

9 1. The brevity of this exposition will also be sufficient for this heresy. For such people make a fine object to be refuted and are easy to catch, for they are rather Jews and nothing else. 2. However,

ὑπάρχουσιν. οὐ μόνον γὰρ οἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων παῖδες πρὸς τούτους κέκτηνται μῖσος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνιστάμενοι ἔωθεν καὶ μέσης ἡμέρας καὶ περὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν, τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας ὅτε εὐχὰς ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἑαυτοῖς ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς ἐπαρῶνται αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀναθεματίζουσι, τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας φάσκοντες ὅτι „ἐπικαταράσαι ὁ θεὸς τοὺς Ναζωραίους,,. 3. δῆθεν γὰρ τούτοις περισσότερον ἐνέχουσι, διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων αὐτοὺς ὄντας Ἰησοῦν κηρύσσειν εἶναι <τὸν> Χριστόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐναντίον πρὸς τοὺς ἔτι Ἰουδαίους, τοὺς τὸν Ἰησοῦν μὴ δεξαμένους. 4. ἔχουσι δὲ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον πληρέστατον Ἑβραϊστί. παρ' αὐτοῖς γὰρ σαφῶς τοῦτο, καθὼς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγράφη, Ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασιν ἔτι σφίζεται. οὐκ οἶδα δὲ εἰ καὶ τὰς γενεαλογίας τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἄχρι Χριστοῦ περιεῖλον.

30 1 1-33 3 (I, p. 333-380)

1.1. Ἐβίων, ἀφ' οὗπερ Ἑβριωναῖοι, καθεξῆς ἀκολουθῶν καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις φρονήσας, πολύμορφον τεράστιον καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν τῆς μυθευομένης πολυκεφάλου ὕδρας ὀφιδώδη μορφὴν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀνατυπωσάμενος, πάλιν ἐπανέστη τῷ βίῳ, ἐκ τῆς τούτων μὲν σχολῆς ὑπάρχων, ἕτερα δὲ παρὰ τούτους κηρύττων καὶ ὑφηγούμενος. 2. ὡς γὰρ εἴ τις συνάξειεν ἑαυτῷ ἐκ διαφόρων λίθων τιμίων κόσμον καὶ ποικίλης ἐσθῆτος ἔνδυμα καὶ διαφανῶς ἑαυτὸν κοσμήσῃ, οὕτω καὶ οὗτος τὸ ἀνάπαλιν πᾶν ὁτιοῦν δεινὸν καὶ ὀλετήριον καὶ βδελυκτὸν κήρυγμα, ἄμορφόν τε καὶ ἀπίθανον, ἀ<ντι>ζηλίας ἔμπλεον παρ' ἐκάστης αἰρέσεως λαβὼν ἑαυτὸν ἀνετύπωσεν εἰς ἀπάσας. 3. Σαμαρειτῶν μὲν γὰρ ἔχει τὸ βδελυρόν, Ἰουδαίων δὲ τὸ ὄνομα, Ὀσσαίων καὶ Ναζωραίων καὶ Νασαραίων τὴν γνῶμην, Κηρινθιανῶν τὸ εἶδος, Καρποκρατιανῶν τὴν κακοτροπίαν, καὶ Χριστιανῶν βούλεται ἔχειν τὸ ἐπώνυμον μόνον [οὐ γὰρ δῆπουθεν τὴν τε πρᾶξιν καὶ τὴν γνῶμην καὶ τὴν γνώσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν εὐαγγελίων καὶ ἀποστόλων περὶ πίστεως συγκατάθεσιν]. 4. μέσος δὲ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀπάντων τυγχάνων οὐδὲν πέφυκεν, ἀλλὰ ἐπ' αὐτὸν πληροῦται τὸ γεγραμμένον τό „παρ' ὀλίγον ἐγενόμην ἐν παντὶ κακῷ, μέσον ἐκκλησίας καὶ συναγωγῆς,,¹ 5. Σαμαρείτης μὲν γὰρ ὢν διὰ τῆς βδελυρίας τοῦνομα ἀρνείται, Ἰουδαῖον δὲ ἑαυτὸν ὁμολογῶν Ἰουδαίους ἀντίκειται, καίτοι συμφωνῶν αὐτοῖς ἐν μέρει, ὡς ὕστερον ἐν ταῖς περὶ τούτου ἀποδείξεισι τοῦ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐλέγχου παραστήσομεν, θεοῦ ἐπιβοηθοῦντος.

2.1. Οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Ἐβίων σύγχρονος μὲν τούτων ὑπῆρχεν, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς <ὢν> ὁρμάται. 2. τὰ πρῶτα δὲ ἐκ παρατριβῆς

¹ Prov. 5,14.

they are very much hated by the Jews. For not only the Jewish children cherish hate against them but the people also stand up in the morning, at noon and in the evening, three times a day and they pronounce curses and maledictions over them when they say their prayers in the synagogues. Three times a day they say: "May God curse the Nazoraeans". 3. For they are supposed to believe more than these because they proclaim as Jews that Jesus is the Christ which runs counter to those who still are Jews who did not accept Jesus. 4. They have the entire Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew. It is carefully preserved by them in Hebrew letters, as I wrote in the beginning. But I do not know whether they also have omitted the genealogies from Abraham to Christ.

30 1 1-33

1. Ebion from whom the Ebionites originated, is a successor of these and held the same convictions as these — a many-shaped monster and, so to say, assembling to the serpent-like figure of the legendary hydra with its many heads — and he stood up against life. Though belonging to the same school as these, he proclaimed and learned yet other things than they did. 2. For like somebody can compose an ornament from different precious stones and a garment from different cloths and can adorn himself in a striking way, so contrarywise he borrowed from each heresy the whole horrible, pernicious and disgusting preaching, monstrous and untrustworthy full of jealousy, and he represented them all. 3. For from the Samaritans he took the monstrosity, from the Jews their name, from the Ossaeans, Nazoraeans and Naziraeans their ideas, from the Cerinthians their appearance, from the Carpocratians their viciousness and from the Christians he only wishes to have their name, certainly not the works, insight, knowledge and religious ideas of the Gospels and Apostles. 4. Though he had contact with everyone, so to speak, he came to nothing but what is written is fulfilled in him: "I came into almost every evil in the midst of the Church and the Synagogue". 5. For being a Samaritan he rejects this name because of its offensiveness and although calling himself a Jew he is an adversary of the Jews because actually he only agrees with them partially, as we — with God's help — will show later in the exposition of his refutation.

2 1. For this Ebion is a contemporary of their's. Being one of them, he started from them. 2. First he stated that Christ was born of

καὶ σπέρματος ἀνδρός, τουτέστιν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, τὸν Χριστὸν γεγεννησθαι ἔλεγεν· ὡς καὶ ἤδη ἡμῖν προείρηται ὅτι τὰ ἴσα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν ἅπασιν φρονῶν ἐν τούτῳ μόνῳ διεφέρετο, ἐν τῷ τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ προσανέχεν κατὰ σαββατισμὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν περιτομὴν καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, ὅσαπερ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις καὶ Σαμαρείταις ἐπιτελεῖται. 3. ἔτι δὲ πλείω οὗτος παρὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ὁμοίως τοῖς Σαμαρείταις διαπράττεται. προσέθετο γὰρ τὸ παρατηρεῖσθαι ἄπτεσθαί τινος τῶν ἁλλοεθνῶν, 4. καθ' ἑκάστην δὲ ἡμέραν, εἴ ποτε γυναικὶ συναφθῇ καὶ ἢ ἀπ' αὐτῆς, βαπτίζεσθαι ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι, εἴ που δᾶν εὐποροίῃ ἢ θαλάσσης ἢ ἄλλων ὑδάτων. 5. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ συναντήσῃεν τινι ἀνιῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ὑδάτων καταδύσεως καὶ βαπτισμοῦ, ὡσαύτως πάλιν ἀνατρέχει βαπτίζεσθαι, πολλάκις καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἱματίοις. 6. τὰ νῦν δὲ ἀπηγόρευται παντάπασιν παρ' αὐτοῖς παρθενία τε καὶ ἐγκράτεια, ὡς καὶ παρὰ ταῖς ἄλλαις ταῖς ὁμοίαις ταύτῃ αἰρέσεσι. ποτὲ γὰρ παρθενίαν ἐσεμνύνοντο, δῆθεν διὰ τὸν Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου· <διό> καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν συγγράμματα πρεσβυτέροις καὶ παρθένοις γράφουσι. 7. γέγονε δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ τούτων μετὰ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἄλωσιν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πάντες οἱ εἰς Χριστὸν πεπιστευκότες τὴν Περσίαν κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ κατῴκησαν τὸ πλείστον, ἐν Πέλλῃ τινὶ πόλει καλουμένη τῆς Δεκαπόλεως τῆς ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ γεγραμμένης πλησίον τῆς Βαταναίας καὶ Βασανίτιδος χώρας, τὸ τηλικαῦτα ἐκεῖ μεταναστάντων καὶ ἐκεῖσε διατριβόντων αὐτῶν, γέγονεν ἐκ τούτου πρόφασις τῷ Ἐβρίωνι. 8. καὶ ἄρχεται μὲν τὴν κατοίκησιν ἔχειν ἐν Κωκάβῃ τινὶ κώμῃ ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς Καρναῖμ τῆς καὶ Ἀσταρῶθ ἐν τῇ Βασανίτιδι χώρα, ὡς ἡ ἐλθοῦσα εἰς ἡμᾶς γνῶσις περιέχει. ἔνθεν ἄρχεται τῆς κακῆς αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας, ὅθεν δῆθεν καὶ οἱ Ναζωραῖοι, οἱ ἄνω μοι προδοδῆλονται. 9. συναφθεὶς γὰρ οὗτος ἐκείνος καὶ ἐκείνοι τούτῳ, ἐκάτερος ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μοχθηρίας τῷ ἐτέρῳ μετέδωκε. καὶ διαφέρονται μὲν ἕτερος πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον κατὰ τι, ἐν δὲ τῇ κακονοίᾳ ἀλλήλους ἀπεμάξαντο. ἤδη δέ μοι καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις λόγοις καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας αἰρέσεις περὶ τῆς τοποθεσίας Κωκάβων καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας διὰ πλάτους εἴρηται.

3.1. Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὗτος ὁ Ἐβρίων, ὡς ἔφην, Χριστὸν ἐκ σπέρματος ἀνδρός, τουτέστι τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, ὠρίζετο· ἐκ χρόνου δὲ τινος καὶ δεῦρο οἱ αὐτοῦ, ὡς εἰς ἀσύστατον καὶ ἀμήχανον τρέψαντες τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν ἄλλοι ἄλλως παρ' αὐτοῖς περὶ Χριστοῦ διηγοῦνται· 2. τάχα δὲ οἶμαι ἀπὸ τοῦ συναφθῆναι αὐτοῖς Ἠλξάιον τὸν ψευδοπροφήτην τὸν παρὰ τοῖς Σαμψηνοῖς καὶ Ὀσσηνοῖς καὶ Ἑλκεσαίοις καλουμένους <μοι προδοδῆλωμένον>, ὡς ἐκείνος φαντασίαν τινὰ περὶ Χριστοῦ διηγοῦνται καὶ περὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου. 3. τινὲς γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀδὰμ τὸν

human intercourse and the seed of a man, Joseph. As we have already said earlier, he favoured the same ideas as the others in everything, but he only disagreed in this respect that he adhered to the Law of Judaism with regard to the celebration of the sabbath, circumcision and all other things which are fulfilled by Jews and Samaritans. 3. And yet he does things more in the same way as the Samaritans than as the Jews. For he added that one had to be careful not to touch a heathen 4. and that one had to wash himself in water every day if one happened to have had intercourse with a woman and had left her, if there is sufficient seawater or other water. 5. But also if one meets somebody coming up from immersion in water and from washing, one returns to wash oneself in the same way again, several times and fully clothed. 6. At this moment he forbids virginity and chastity altogether among them as among the other heresies similar to this one. In the past they boasted of virginity because of James the brother of the Lord. (Therefore) they addressed their writings to elders and virgins. 7. Their origin goes back to the time after the capture of Jerusalem. For after all those who believed in Christ had generally come to live in Perea, in a city called Pella of the Decapolis of which it is written in the Gospel that it is situated in the neighbourhood of the region of Batanaea and Basanitis, Ebion's preaching originated here after they had moved to this place and had lived there. 8. Initially he lived in some village called Kokabe not far from the region of Karnaim and Asteroth in the region of Basanitis; this is according to the contents of the information which has reached us. From there he began his vicious teaching, from the same place where the Nazoraeans originated, of whom I gave an account above. 9. For after they had joined themselves with each other, everyone shared his own dirt with the other. They differ from each other in some respects, but on the other hand they imitate each other in viciousness. I have already spoken at length in a different context also concerning the other heresies about the topography of Kokabe and Arabia.

3 1. At first this Ebion asserted, as I said, that Christ was from the seed of a man, Joseph. In the course of time and up to the present day his followers started to think differently about Christ, since they directed their attention to chaotic and impossible things. 2. I believe they soon got the same illusory ideas concerning Christ and the Holy Spirit as Elxaios, after the pseudo-prophet had joined them, I mentioned this man earlier in connection with the so-called Sampsaecans, Ossaeans and Elkesaites. 3. For some of them say that Christ is also Adam

Χριστὸν εἶναι λέγουσιν, τὸν πρῶτόν τε πλασθέντα καὶ ἐμφυσηθέντα ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιπνοίας. 4. ἄλλοι δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς λέγουσιν ἄνωθεν μὲν αὐτὸν ὄντα πρὸ πάντων δὲ αὐτὸν κτισθέντα, πνεῦμα ὄντα καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀγγέλους ὄντα πάντων τε κυριεύοντα, καὶ Χριστὸν λέγεσθαι, τὸν ἐκείσε δὲ αἰῶνα κεκληρῶσθαι. 5. ἔρχεσθαι δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὅτε βούλεται, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ ἦλθε καὶ τοῖς πατριάρχαις ἐφαίνετο ἐνδύμενος τὸ σῶμα· πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ δὲ ἐλθὼν καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἦλθεν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἐνεδύσατο καὶ ὥφθη ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἀνέστη καὶ ἀνῆλθεν. 6. πάλιν δὲ ὅτε βούλονται λέγουσιν· οὐχί, ἀλλὰ εἰς αὐτὸν ἦλθε τὸ πνεῦμα ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ ἐνεδύσατο αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰησοῦν καλούμενον. καὶ πολλή παρ' αὐτοῖς σκότῳσις, ἄλλοτε ἄλλως καὶ ἄλλως αὐτὸν ὑποτιθε- μένοις. 7. καὶ δέχονται μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον. τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ αὐτοί, ὡς καὶ οἱ κατὰ Κήρινθον καὶ Μήρινθον χρῶνται μόνῳ. καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ κατὰ Ἑβραίους, ὡς τὰ ἀληθῆ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι Ματθαῖος μόνος Ἑβραῖστὶ καὶ Ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασιν ἐν τῇ καινῇ διαθήκῃ ἐποιήσατο τὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἑκθεσὶν τε καὶ κήρυγμα.

13.1. Ἐπάνειμι δὲ τὴν κατὰ Ἑβρίωνος ποιούμενος ἀκολουθίαν· διὰ γὰρ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον προῖων ὁ λόγος τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθούσης γνώσεως παραθέσθαι ἠνάγκασεν. 2. ἐν τῷ γοῦν παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐαγγελίῳ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ὀνομαζομένῳ, οὐχ ὅλῳ δὲ πληρεστάτῳ, ἀλλὰ νενοθευμένῳ καὶ ἡκρωτηριασμένῳ [Ἑβραϊκὸν δὲ τοῦτο καλοῦσιν] ἐμφέρεται ὅτι „ἐγένετό τις ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦς, καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, ὃς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς. καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Σίμωνος τοῦ ἐπικληθέντος Πέτρου καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ εἶπεν. 3. παρερχόμενος παρὰ τὴν λίμνην Τιβεριάδος ἐξελεξάμην Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἰάκωβον, υἱοὺς Ζεβεδαίου, καὶ Σίμωνα καὶ Ἀνδρέαν καὶ * Θαδδαῖον καὶ Σίμωνα τὸν ζηλωτὴν καὶ Ἰούδαν τὸν Ἰσκαριώτην, καὶ σὲ τὸν Ματθαῖον καθεζόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ τελωνίου ἐκάλεσα καὶ ἠκολούθησάς μοι. ὑμᾶς οὖν βούλομαι εἶναι δεκαδύο ἀποστό- λους εἰς μαρτύριον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, 4. καὶ „ἐγένετο Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων, καὶ ἐξῆλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν Φαρισαῖοι καὶ ἐβαπτίσθησαν καὶ πᾶσα Ἱεροσό- λυμα. καὶ εἶχεν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἔνδυμα ἀπὸ τριχῶν καμήλου καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφύν αὐτοῦ. καὶ τὸ βρῶμα αὐτοῦ, φησί, μέλι ἄγριον, οὗ ἢ γεῦσις ἢ τοῦ μάννα, ὡς ἐγκρίσις ἐν ἐλαίῳ,¹ ἵνα δῆθην μεταστρέψωσι τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον εἰς ψεῦδος καὶ ἀντὶ ἀκριδῶν ποιήσωσιν ἐγκρίδα ἐν μέλιτι. 6. ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐαγγελίου

¹ Cf. Matth. 3,4

who was the first man created and into whom God's breath was blown. 4. But others among them say that he is from above and was created before all things, that he is a spirit and stands above the angels and is lord of all and that he is called Christ and has been chosen for all eternity. 5. He comes into the world when he wishes for he came into Adam and appeared to the patriarchs clothed with a body. He is the same who went to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and who came at the end of the times and clothed himself with the body of Adam and who appeared to men, was crucified, raised and returned on high. 6. Next, as they wish, they say: this is not true but the Spirit who is Christ came upon him and took the boy of him who is called Jesus. For great is the darkness among them since they suppose him to be sometimes this way and then again that way. 7. But they also accept the Gospel according to Matthew. For they too use only this like the followers of Cerinthus and Merinthus. They call it "according to the Hebrews" which name is correct since Matthew is the only one in the New Testament who issued the Gospel and the proclamation in Hebrew and with Hebrew letters.

13 1. I return to Ebion and I continue with him. Mentioning the Gospel of Matthew the argumentation obliged us to interrupt the order of the information which has reached us. 2. The Gospel which is called with them according to Matthew which is not complete but falsified and distorted, they call it the Hebrew Gospel, and in it can be found: "There was a man called Jesus, about thirty years old, who chose us. And he came to Capernaum, he entered the house of Simon, also called Peter, and opened his mouth and said: 3. When I went by the sea of Tiberias I chose John and James, the sons of Zebedee, and Simon and Andrew and Thaddeaus and Simon the Zealot and Judas the Iscariot and you Matthew, who was sitting at the custom-house; I called and you followed me. I wish you to be twelve apostles for a testimony to Israel". 4. And "It happened that John baptized and the Pharisees went out to him and were baptized and all Jerusalem. And John was dressed in a mantle of camel's hair and a leather belt was round his waist. And his food was, it said, wild honey, of which the taste was that of manna, like cakes in olive oil". 5. They say this to turn the word of truth into a lie and they say honey-cakes instead of locusts. 6. The beginning of the Gospel among them reads: "It happened in the days of Herod the king of Judea (at the time when

ἔχει ὅτι „ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας <ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Καϊάφα>, ἦλθέν <τις> Ἰωάννης <ὀνόματι> βαπτίζων βάπτισμα μετανοίας ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ, ὃς ἐλέγετο εἶναι ἐκ γένους Ἀαρὼν τοῦ ἱερέως, παῖς Ζαχαρίου καὶ Ἑλισάβετ, καὶ ἐξήρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντες,,. 7. καὶ μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν πολλὰ ἐπιφέρει ὅτι „τοῦ λαοῦ βαπτισθέντος ἦλθεν καὶ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου. καὶ ὡς ἀνῆλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος, ἠνοίγησαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ εἶδεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐν εἶδει περιστερᾶς, κατελθούσης καὶ εἰσελθούσης εἰς αὐτόν. καὶ φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσα· σὺ μου εἶ ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ ἠδδόκησα, καὶ πάλιν· ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε. καὶ εὐθὺς περιέλαμψε τὸν τόπον φῶς μέγα. ὁ ἰδὼν, φησὶν, ὁ Ἰωάννης λέγει αὐτῷ· σὺ τίς εἶ, κύριε; καὶ πάλιν φωνὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐφ' ὃν ἠδδόκησα¹. 8. καὶ τότε, φησὶν, ὁ Ἰωάννης προσπεσὼν αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν· δέομαί σου, κύριε, σὺ με βάπτισον. ὁ δὲ ἐκώλυσε αὐτὸν λέγων· ἄφες, ὅτι οὕτως ἐστὶ πρέπον πληρωθῆναι πάντα,,.

14.1. Ὅρα δὲ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς παραπεποιημένη πανταχόθεν διδασκαλίαν, πῶς πάντα χωλά, λοξὰ καὶ οὐδεμίαν ὀρθότητα ἔχοντα. 2. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κήρινθος καὶ Καρποκράς, τῷ αὐτῷ χρώμενοι δῆθεν παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐαγγελίῳ *, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγελίου διὰ τῆς γενεαλογίας βούλονται παριστᾶν ἐκ σπέρματος Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας εἶναι τὸν Χριστόν. 3. οὗτοι δὲ ἄλλα τινὰ διανοοῦνται. παρακρίσαντες γὰρ τὰς παρὰ τῷ Ματθαίῳ γενεαλογίας ἀρχονται τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιῆσθαι ὡς προείπομεν, λέγοντες ὅτι „ἐγένετο,, φησὶν „ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Καϊάφα, ἦλθέν τις Ἰωάννης ὀνόματι βαπτίζων βάπτισμα μετανοίας ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ,, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. 4. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ βούλονται τὸν μὲν Ἰησοῦν ὄντως ἄνθρωπον εἶναι, ὡς προείπον, Χριστὸν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ γεγενῆσθαι τὸν ἐν εἶδει περιστερᾶς καταβεβηκότα [καθάπερ ἤδη καὶ παρ' ἄλλαις αἰρέσεσιν εὐρήκαμεν] συναφθέντα <τε> αὐτῷ, καὶ εἶναι αὐτὸν τὸν Χριστόν * ἐκ σπέρματος ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς γεγεννημένον. 5. πάλιν δὲ ἀρνοῦνται εἶναι αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον, δῆθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου οὗ εἴρηκεν ὁ σωτὴρ ἐν τῷ ἀναγγελεῖν αὐτῷ ὅτι „ἰδοὺ ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου ἔξω ἐστήκασιν,, ὅτι „τίς μου ἐστὶ μήτηρ καὶ ἀδελφοί; καὶ ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς ἔφη· οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀδελφοί μου καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἀδελφαί οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰ θελήματα τοῦ πατρός μου,,² 6. ἐντεῦθεν, ὡς ἔφην, τῆς πάσης κυβείας μεμεστωμένος ὁ Ἐβίων διὰ πολλῶν

¹ Cf. Matth. 3,13-17.

² Matth. 12,47-50.

Caiaphas was high priest) that a certain John came, baptizing the baptism of conversion in the river Jordan. Of him it is said that he was from the family of Aaron the priest, the son of Zacharias and Elisabeth. And all went out to him". 7. And after much is said in the Gospel it continues: "After the people has been baptized Jesus also came and was baptized by John. And when he ascended from the water the heavens opened and he saw the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove descending and coming to him. And a voice from heaven said: "Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased", and next: "This day I have generated thee". And suddenly a great light shone about that place. When John saw it, they say, he said to him: "Who art thou Lord?" And again a voice came from heaven which said to him: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased". 8. After this, it says, John fell down before him and said: "I pray thou, Lord, baptize thou me". But he withstood him and said: "Let it be, since so it is necessary that everything will be fulfilled".

14 1. See, their doctrine, falsified in every possible manner, how everything is mutilated and distorted and nowhere correct. 2. For Cerinthus and Carpocrates, apparently using the same Gospel as they, wish to prove from the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew with the help of the genealogies that Christ is from the seed of Joseph and from Mary. 3. These, however, have other plans. For they have removed the genealogies of Matthew and begin, as we said before, with the words: "It happened, they say, in the days of Herod the king of Judea when Caiaphas was high priest that a certain man called John, who baptized the baptism of conversion in the river Jordan", etc. 4. The reason for this is that they insist that Jesus was really man, as I said, and that Christ came into being in him because he descended in the form of a dove, as we have also already found in other heresies. And Christ joined him and they like him to be Christ born from a man and a woman. 5. Further they deny that he is a man, apparently from the word that the Saviour spoke when he was told: "See thy mother and thy brothers stand outside", viz. "Who is my mother and who are my brothers"? And he stretched his hand over the disciples and said: "Those are my brothers and my mother and my sisters who do the will of my Father". 6. Therefore taking many

μορφῶν ὑποφαίνει εαυτόν, ὥς εἶναι τεράστιον κατὰ τὰ ἄνω μοι προδεδηλωμένα.

15.1. Χρῶνται δὲ καὶ ἄλλαις τισὶ βίβλοις, δῆθεν ταῖς Περιόδοις καλουμέναις Πέτρου ταῖς διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφείσαις, νοθεύσαντες μὲν τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς, ὀλίγα δὲ ἀληθινὰ ἐάσαντες, 2. ὥς αὐτὸς Κλήμης αὐτοὺς κατὰ πάντα ἐλέγχει ἀφ' ὧν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολῶν ἐγκυκλίων τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις ἐκκλησίαις ἀναγινωσκομενων, ὅτι ἄλλον ἔχει χαρακτήρα ἢ αὐτοῦ πίστις καὶ ὁ λόγος παρὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τούτων εἰς ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς Περιόδοις νενοθευμένα. αὐτὸς γὰρ παρθενίαν διδάσκει καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐ δέχονται· αὐτὸς ἐγκωμιάζει Ἡλίαν καὶ Δαυὶδ καὶ Σαμψῶν καὶ πάντας προφῆτας, οὓς οὗτοι βδελύττονται. 3. ἐν ταῖς οὖν Περιόδοις τὸ πᾶν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς μετήνεγκαν, καταψευσάμενοι Πέτρου κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους, ὥς αὐτοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βαπτιζομένου ἀγνισμοῦ ἔνεκεν, καθάπερ καὶ οὗτοι· ἐμφύχων τε τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ κρεῶν, ὥς καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ πάσης ἄλλης ἐδωδῆς τῆς ἀπὸ σαρκῶν πεπονημένης λέγουσιν, ἐπειδὴ περ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἐβρίων καὶ Ἐβριωνῖται παντελῶς τούτων ἀπέχονται. 4. ὅταν δὲ ἐρωτήσης ἓνα τῶν αὐτῶν, τίνος ἔνεκεν ἐμφύχων οὐ μεταλαμβάνουσι, μὴ ἔχοντές τι διηγῆσασθαι ἀποκρίνονται ἀσυνέτως καὶ λέγουσι· διὰ τὸ ἐκ συνουσίας καὶ ἐπιμιξίας σωμάτων εἶναι αὐτὰ οὐ μεταλαμβάνομεν, ὥς εἶναι αὐτοὺς ὅλους τοὺς ἀπὸ ἐπιμιξίας ἀνδρὸς τε καὶ γυναικὸς βδελυκτοὺς κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ στόματος αὐτῶν ληρωδῶς ἐξεμεθέντα.

16.1. Βάπτισμα δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ λαμβάνουσι χωρὶς ὧν καθ' ἡμέραν βαπτίζονται. μυστήρια δὲ δῆθεν τελοῦσι κατὰ μίμῃσιν τῶν ἀγίων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπὸ ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν διὰ ἀζύμων καὶ τὸ ἄλλο μέρος τοῦ μυστηρίου δι' ὕδατος μόνου. 2. δύο δέ τινας, ὥς ἔφην, συνιστῶσιν ἐκ θεοῦ τεταγμένους, ἓνα μὲν τὸν Χριστὸν ἓνα δὲ τὸν διάβολον. καὶ τὸν μὲν Χριστὸν λέγουσι τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος εἰληφέναι τὸν κλῆρον, τὸν δὲ διάβολον τοῦτον πεπιστεῦσθαι τὸν αἰῶνα, ἐκ προσταγῆς δῆθεν τοῦ παντοκράτορος κατὰ αἵτησιν ἐκατέρων αὐτῶν. 3. καὶ τούτου ἔνεκα Ἰησοῦν γεγεννημένον ἐκ σπέρματος ἀνδρὸς λέγουσι καὶ ἐπιλεχθέντα καὶ οὕτω κατὰ ἐκλογὴν υἱὸν θεοῦ κληθέντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄνωθεν εἰς αὐτὸν ἦκοντος Χριστοῦ ἐν εἵδει περιστερᾶς. οὐ φάσκουσι δὲ ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι, 4. ἀλλὰ κεκτίσθαι ὥς ἓνα τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων [καὶ ἔτι περισσοτέρως], αὐτὸν δὲ κυριεύειν καὶ ἀγγέλων καὶ πάντων <τῶν> ὑπὸ τοῦ παντοκράτορος πεπονημένων, καὶ ἐλθόντα καὶ ὑψηγησάμενον *, 5. ὥς τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐαγγέλιον καλούμενον περιέχει, ὅτι „ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὰς θυσίας, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ παύσησθε τοῦ θύειν, οὐ παύσεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἡ ὀργή„, καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τοιαυτὰ τινὰ ἐστὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς δόλια ἐπινοήματα. 6. Πράξεις δὲ ἄλλας καλοῦσιν ἀποστόλων,

shapes Ebion shows himself, as I said, full of deceit, as if he were being a monster, as has been made clear by me above.

15 1. They also use some other books, the so-called *Periodoi* of Peter which were written by Clement but they corrupted the contents leaving not much that is true, 2. since Clement himself refutes them in everything in the circular letters which he wrote and which are read in the holy Churches showing that his belief and his preaching bear a character different from what had been corrupted by those who wrote in his name in the *Periodoi*. He himself teaches the virginity and they do not accept it. He himself praises Elia, David, Samson and all the prophets who they detest. 3. In the *Periodoi* they have changed everything in their own way saying false things about Peter in many places, for example that he washes himself every day to sanctify himself, something which they do. They also say that he abstains from animals and meat, as they do also, and from all other food which has been prepared from meat because Ebion himself and the Ebionites abstain from it altogether. 4. If you should ask one of them why they take nothing from animals, they answer, stupidly, because they have nothing else to say: We refuse it because it is the product of the intercourse of the mixing of bodies, so that they themselves being the product of the mixing of man and woman are abominable because of what is belched out by their mouths in a stupid way.

16 1. Apart from their daily purifications they also accept the baptism. They apparently also have an annual celebration of the eucharist imitating the holy ones in the Church, with unleavened bread and the other part of the eucharist with water only. 2. They state that two classes were established by God, as I see, the one is Christ and the other is the devil. And they say that Christ received the portion of the coming age but that the devil has been entrusted with this age, under the pretence that the Almighty ordered this at the request of both of them. 3. And they say that for this reason Jesus was born of the seed of a man and was chosen and that he therefore was called Son of God according to the election because Christ descended upon him from above in the form of a dove. 4. They do not say that he was born of God the Father but that he was created as one of the archangels (and even higher) and that he is Lord over the angels as also over everything the Almighty has created and that he came and stated, 5. as their Gospel mentioned above, shows: "I have come to abolish sacrifices and if you do not stop sacrificing the wrath will not cease from you". Of such and such character are their cunning considerations. 6. They

ἐν αἷς πολλὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας ἔμπλεα, ἔνθεν οὐ παρέργως κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἑαυτοὺς ὤπλισαν. 7. Ἀναβαθμοὺς δέ τινας καὶ ὑψηγῆσαι δῆθεν ἐν τοῖς Ἀναβαθμοῖς Ἰακώβου ὑποτίθενται, ὡς ἐξηγουμένου κατὰ τε τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν, κατὰ τε τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ κenoφωνίας ἔμπλεα. 8. ὡς καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐνταῦθα κατηγοροῦντες οὐκ αἰσχύνονται ἐπιπλάστοις τισὶ τῆς τῶν ψευδαποστόλων αὐτῶν κακουργίας καὶ πλάνης λόγοις πεπονημένοις, Ταρσέα μὲν αὐτόν, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ καὶ οὐκ ἀρνεῖται, λέγοντες, ἐξ Ἑλλήνων δὲ αὐτὸν ὑποτίθενται, λαβόντες τὴν πρόφασιν ἐκ τοῦ τόπου διὰ τὸ φιλαλήθως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ῥηθῆν ὅτι „Ταρσεύς εἰμι, οὐκ ἀσήμενον πόλεως πολίτης,,¹ 9. εἴτα φάσκουσιν αὐτὸν εἶναι Ἑλληνα καὶ Ἑλληνίδος μητρὸς καὶ Ἑλληνος πατρὸς παῖδα, ἀναβεβηκέναι δὲ εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ χρόνον ἐκεῖ μεμενηκέναι, ἐπιτεθυμηκέναι δὲ θυγατέρα τοῦ ἱερέως πρὸς γάμον ἀγαγέσθαι καὶ τούτου ἕνεκα προσήλυτον γενέσθαι καὶ περιτμηθῆναι, καὶ μηκέτι λαβόντα τὴν τοιαύτην κόρην ὠργίσθαι καὶ κατὰ περιτομῆς γεγραφέναι καὶ κατὰ σαββάτου καὶ νομοθεσίας.

17.1. Ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον συκοφαντεῖ ὁ δεινὸς οὗτος ὄφεις καὶ πτωχὸς τῇ διανοίᾳ. Ἐβίων γὰρ ἔχει ἀπὸ Ἑβραϊκῆς εἰς Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν τὴν ἐρμηνείαν πτωχός. πτωχὸς γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐλπίδι καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ <ὁ> Χριστὸν ἄνθρωπον ψιλὸν νομίσας καὶ οὕτως ἐν πτωχείᾳ πίστεως τὴν ἐλπίδα περὶ αὐτοῦ κεκτημένος. 2. αὐτοὶ δὲ δῆθεν σεμνύνονται ἑαυτοὺς φάσκοντες πτωχοὺς διὰ τό, φασίν, ἐν χρόνοις τῶν ἀποστόλων πωλεῖν τὰ αὐτῶν ὑπάρχοντα καὶ τιθέναι παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ εἰς πτωχείαν καὶ ἀποταξίαν μετεληλυθέναι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ πάντων, φησί, πτωχοί. 3. οὐδὲ τοῦτο δὲ ἀληθές παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ φύσει τῷ ὄντι Ἐβίων ἐκαλεῖτο, κατὰ προφητείαν οἶμαι ὁ πτωχὸς καὶ τάλας τὸ ὄνομα ἐκ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ μητρὸς αὐτοῦ κεκληρωμένος. 4. πόσα δὲ ἄλλα δεινὰ καὶ παραπεποιημένα καὶ μοχθηρίας γέγοντα παρ' αὐτοῖς φυλάττεται; ὅταν γάρ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἢ νόσω περιπέσοι ἢ ὑπὸ ἐρπετοῦ δηχθεῖ, κάτεισιν εἰς τὰ ὕδατα καὶ ἐπικαλεῖται τὰς ἐπωνυμίας τὰς ἐν τῷ Ἠλξαῖ τοῦ τε οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, τοῦ τε ἁλὸς καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, τῶν τε ἀνέμων καὶ ἀγγέλων τῆς δικαιοσύνης, <ὥς> φασι, καὶ τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ ἐλαίου, καὶ ἄρχεται λέγειν „βοηθεῖτέ μοι καὶ ἀπαλλάξατε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ ἄλγος,,. 5. ἥδη δέ μοι καὶ ἀνωτέρω προδεδήλωται ὡς ταῦτα μὲν Ἐβίων οὐκ ᾔδει, μετὰ καιρὸν δὲ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ συναφθέντες τῷ Ἠλξαῖ ἐσχῆκασιν μὲν τοῦ

¹ Acts 21,39.

also mention other Acts of the Apostles in which is much that is full of impiety, from which it appears that they do not train themselves superficially against the truth. 7. In the *Anabathmoi* of James they accept some "steps" and stories for example that he preaches against the temple and the sacrifices, against fire on the altar and they accept many other things full of empty talk. 8. Thus they are also not ashamed of some artificial allegations made up by the viciousness and deceit of their pseudo-apostles so that they bring a charge against Paul, saying that he is from Tarsus — as he himself openly says and does not deny — they declare that he is of Greek descend, taking as an argument the place, because of his own truthful remark: "I am from Tarsus, a citizen of a no mean city". 9. Next they say that he is a Greek, the child of a Greek mother and a Greek father; that he went up to Jerusalem and stayed there for a time; that he desired to marry the daughter of a priest and therefore became a proselyte and that he had himself circumcised and that, since he could not receive such a girl as his wife, he became angry and wrote against circumcision, the sabbath and the legislation.

17 1 But this double-eyed serpent, poor of understanding falsifies everywhere. For Ebion translated from the Hebrew into Greek means "poor". For he is really poor in understanding, in hope and in works who believes that Christ is a mere man, and acquired in this way with a poor faith this hope concerning him. 2. But they themselves are obviously proud of themselves saying that they are poor because they say, they sold their belongings in the time of the apostles and laid the money at the feet of the apostles and because they looked for poverty and the abolition of wordly goods. And, therefore, they say, everyone calls us poor ones. 3. Also in this respect they do not preach the truth; because he was poor by nature, he was called Ebion. According to the prophecy, as I believe, this poor and needy man was given his name by his father and mother. 4. How many other horrible and falsified matters full of wickedness are asserted by them? For if anyone of them falls into sickness or is bitten by a snake, he goes down into the water and calls upon the names which are mentioned in Elxai: heaven, earth, salt, water, winds, angels of righteousness, as it says, and bread and olive oil, and then he begins with the words: "Help me and take away from me the pain!". 5. I have already made it clear before that Ebion did not know anything about it, but that when

Ἐβρίωνος τὴν περιτομὴν καὶ τὸ σάββατον καὶ τὰ ἔθνη, 6. τοῦ δὲ Ἡλξᾶτ τὴν φαντασίαν, ὥστε νομίζειν μὲν τὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι τι ἀνδροεῖκελον ἐκτύπωμα ἀόρατον ἀνθρώποις, μιλιὼν ἐνενηκόντα ἔξ το μῆκος, δῆθεν σχοίνων εἴκοσι τεσσάρων, τὸ δὲ πλάτος σχοίνων ἔξ, μιλιὼν εἴκοσι τεσσάρων, τὸ πάχος δὲ κατὰ μέτρησιν ἄλλην τινά. ἀντικρὺ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐστάναι καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐν εἵδει θηλείας ἀοράτως, καὶ [τὸ] αὐτὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μέτρον. 7. „καὶ πόθεν, φησὶν, ἔγνω τὰ μέτρα; ἐπειδὴ, φησὶν, εἶδον ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρέων ὅτι αἱ κεφαλαὶ ἔφθανον αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ μέτρον τοῦ ὄρους καταμαθὼν ἔγνω Χριστοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος τὰ μέτρα.,, 8. ἦδη δέ μοι περὶ τούτων εἴρηται ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ὅσσαίων αἰρέσει. ἐν παρεξόδῳ δὲ ταῦτα πεποιήμαι νῦν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ παρ' ἐκάστῳ ἔθνηι τε καὶ αἰρέσει ὄντα, εὐρισκόμενα δὲ καὶ παρ' ἑτέροις, νομισθεῖη κατὰ λήθην ὑφ' ἡμῶν μὴ εἰρησθαι.

18.1. Οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἐβρίων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔσχεν τὸ κήρυγμα καὶ Ῥώμῃ, τὰς δὲ ρίζας τῶν ἀκανθωδῶν παραφυάδων ἔχουσιν ἀπὸ τε τῆς Ναβαταίας καὶ Πανεάδος τὸ πλεῖστον, Μωαβίτιδος τε καὶ Κωκάβων ἐν τῇ Βασανίτιδι γῇ ἐπέκεινα Ἀδραῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ. 2. ἀναγκάζουσι δὲ καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν ἐγκαμίζουσι τοὺς νέους, ἔξ ἐπιτροπῆς δῆθεν τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς διδασκάλων [πρεσβυτέρους γὰρ οὗτοι ἔχουσι καὶ ἀρχισυναγῶγους, συναγωγὴν δὲ καλοῦσι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ οὐχὶ ἐκκλησίαν, τῷ Χριστοῦ δὲ ὀνόματι μόνον σεμνύονται] 3. καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ γάμῳ ἐπιτρέπουσι τὰς συναφείας ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ θελήσειεν τις τοῦ πρώτου γάμου διαζεύγνυσθαι, ἐτέρῳ δὲ συνάπτεισθαι, ἐπιτρέπουσιν — πάντα γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀδεῶς ἐφίεται — ἄχρι καὶ δευτέρου καὶ τρίτου καὶ ἐβδόμου γάμου. 4. Ἀβραὰμ δὲ ὁμολογοῦσι καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, Μωυσέα τε καὶ Ἀαρών, Ἰησοῦν τε τὸν τοῦ Ναυῆ, ἀπλῶς διαδεξάμενον Μωυσέα, οὐδὲν δὲ ὄντα. μετὰ τούτους δὲ οὐκέτι ὁμολογοῦσιν οὐδὲν τῶν προφητῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναθεματίζουν καὶ χλευάζουσι Δαυὶδ τε καὶ Σολομῶν <τ>α, ὁμοίως δὲ τοὺς περὶ Ἡσαΐαν καὶ Ἰερεμίαν, Δανιὴλ καὶ Ἰεζεκιήλ, Ἡλίαν τε καὶ Ἐλισσαῖον ἀθετοῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ συντίθενται, βλασφημοῦντες τὰς αὐτῶν προφητείας, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον δέχονται. 5. τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν προφήτην λέγουσι τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ Χριστόν, υἱὸν <δὲ> θεοῦ κατὰ προκοπὴν καὶ κατὰ συνάφειαν ἀναγωγῆς τῆς ἄνωθεν πρὸς αὐτὸν γεγενημένης· τοὺς δὲ προφήτας λέγουσι * συνέσεως εἶναι προφήτας καὶ οὐκ ἀληθείας. 6. αὐτὸν δὲ μόνον θέλουσιν εἶναι καὶ προφήτην καὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ υἱὸν θεοῦ καὶ Χριστὸν καὶ ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον ὡς προείπαμεν, διὰ δὲ ἀρετὴν

in the course of time his followers joined Elxai, they received from Ebion circumcision, the sabbath and the moral code, 6. but from Elxai the imagination, so that they suppose that Christ is a figure similar to men, invisible to men, with a length of 96 miles, that is 24 schoenoi and a breadth of 6 schoenoi, 24 miles, and with a thickness of other dimensions. And he supposed also that the Holy Spirit stands over against him in the shape of a female being, invisible, and that she is of the same measurement. 7. And how, he says, did I know these sizes? Because, he says, I saw from the high mountains that their heads were of the same height and when I informed myself about the sizes of the mountain, I also knew the sizes of Christ and the Holy Spirit. 8. In the part about the heresy of the Ossaeans I have already spoken concerning them. I made this digression myself in order that the doctrines available with each people and the heresy which is also found with others should not be supposed to be omitted by us because of forgetfulness.

18 1. This Ebion himself preached also in Asia and Rome, but the roots of their thorny shoots are situated in Nabatea and Paneas for the most part, also in Moabitis and Kokabe and in the Basanitis, the country at the other side of the Adraa, but also in Cyprus. 2. Their young men, having attained the marriageable age, are given in marriage under coercion, on account of a decision of their teachers (for they have elders and archisynagogues, and they call their church a synagogue and not a Church and honour Christ in name only) 3. and not only are they allowed to enter in an alliance of marriage once but if somebody so wishes, they may permit him to dissolve his first marriage — for unscrupulously everything is permitted by them, even until a second, a third and a seventh marriage. 4. They accept Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses and Aaron and Joshua the son of Nun, exclusively as the successor of Moses, though he has actually no significance. After these they do not accept any of the prophets, but they even curse and ridicule David and Salomon as they do also reject those among Isaiah and Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezechiel, Elia and Elisa. For they do not agree with them and they blaspheme their prophecies but they accept the Gospel only. 5. Christ they call the prophet of truth and “Christ, the Son of God” on account of his progress (in virtue) and the exaltation which descended upon him from above. They say that the prophets are prophets of reason and not of truth. 6. They want him to be only a prophet and man and Son of God and Christ and mere man, as we said before, who attained by a virtuous

βίου ἤκοντα εἰς τὸ καλεῖσθαι υἱὸν θεοῦ. 7. οὔτε δὲ δέχονται τὴν πεντάτευχον Μωυσέως ὄλην, ἀλλὰ τινα ῥήτὰ ἀποβάλλουσιν. ὅταν δὲ αὐτοῖς εἴπῃς περὶ ἐμφύχων βρώσεως· „πῶς οὖν Ἀβραὰμ παρέθετο τοῖς ἀγγέλοις τὸν μόσχον καὶ τὸ γάλα ; ἡ πῶς ἔφαγεν Νῶε καὶ ἤκουσεν ἀπὸ θεοῦ λέγοντος, θῦσον καὶ φάγε, πῶς δὲ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ ἔθυσαν τῷ θεῷ, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ;,,, ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀπιστεῖ καὶ φησι „τίς χρεῖα με ἀναγινώσκειν τὰ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, ἐλθόντος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ;,,, 8. „πόθεν σοι τοίνυν τὰ περὶ Μωυσέως καὶ Ἀβραὰμ εἰδέναί ; οἶδα γὰρ ὡς ὁμολογεῖτε αὐτοὺς εἶναι, δικαίους καὶ πατέρας ἑαυτῶς ἐπιγράφεσθε,,, 9. εἶτα ἀποκρίνεται καὶ λέγει, ὅτι Χριστὸς μοι ἀπεκάλυψε, καὶ βλασφημεῖ τὰ πλείω τῆς νομοθεσίας καὶ τοὺς περὶ Σαμψὼν καὶ Δαυὶδ καὶ Ἡλῖαν καὶ Σαμονῆλ καὶ Ἑλισσαῖον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους.

22.3. πάλιν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος λέγει „ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ Πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν,,¹ καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν ἀπλῶς Πάσχα, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τὸ Πάσχα, ἵνα μὴ τις μεθοδεύσῃ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὑπόνοιαν. Πάσχα δὲ ἦν, ὡς εἶπον, κρέα ὅπτα πυρὶ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα. 4. αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀφανίσαντες ἅφ' ἑαυτῶν τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκολουθίαν ἤλλαξαν τὸ ῥήτόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ πᾶσι φανερόν ἐκ τῶν συνεζευγμένων λέξεων, καὶ ἐποίησαν τοὺς μαθητὰς μὲν λέγοντας „ποῦ θέλεις ἐτοιμάσωμέν σοι τὸ Πάσχα φαγεῖν,,, καὶ αὐτὸν δῆθεν λέγοντα „μὴ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα κρέας τοῦτο τὸ Πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν,,, 5. πόθεν δὲ οὐ φωραθῆσεται ἡ αὐτῶν ῥαδιουργία, τῆς ἀκολουθίας κραζούσης ὅτι τὸ μὺ καὶ τὸ ἡτά ἐστὶ πρόσθετα ; ἀντὶ τοῦ γὰρ εἰπεῖν „ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα,, αὐτοὶ προσέθεντο τὸ „μὴ,, ἐπίρρημα. αὐτὸς δὲ ἀληθῶς ἔλεγεν „ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ Πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν,,, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπιγράψαντες τὸ κρέας ἑαυτοὺς ἐπλάνησαν, ῥαδιουργήσαντες καὶ εἰπόντες „μὴ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ Πάσχα κρέας φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν,,· σαφῶς δὲ δείκνυται ὅτι καὶ Πάσχα ἐπετέλεσε καὶ κρέα βέβρωκεν, ὡς προείπον.

23.1. Τῶν δὲ ἀποστόλων τὰ ὀνόματα εἰς τὴν τῶν ἡπατημένων ὑπ' αὐτῶν πειθῶ προσποιητῶς δέχονται βίβλους τε ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτῶν πλασάμενοι ἀνεγράψαντο, δῆθεν ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἰακώβου καὶ Ματθαίου καὶ ἄλλων μαθητῶν. 2. ἐν οἷς ὀνόμασι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐγκαταλέγουσιν, ἵνα πανταχόθεν φωρατὴ γένηται ἡ αὐτῶν ἄνοια. οὐ μόνον γὰρ ἐλέγχει αὐτοὺς κατὰ πάντα τρόπον, λέγων ὅτι „ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος,,, 3. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι τὰς τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν μαρτυρίας *, ἐν ᾧ ἐκ πνεύ-

¹ Luke, 22,15

life the right to be called Son of God. 7. But they also do not accept the entire Pentateuch of Moses; some passages they reject. If you should say to them concerning animal food: "How about the fact that Abraham put before the angels the calf and milk and that Noah was eating and heard God saying: sacrifice and eat, and that Isaac and Jacob offered food to God as Moses also did in the desert", he does not believe these things and says: 8. "What need is there for me to read what is in the Law now that the Gospel has come?" "But how do you know about Moses and Abraham? For I know that you agree that they are righteous and that you claim them to be your fathers?" 9. Then he answers and says: "Christ revealed it to me and he blasphemes most of the legislation and the men with Samson, David, Elia, Samuel, Elisa and the others".

22 3. Next the Lord himself says: "I earnestly desired to eat this Passover with you". And he did not say Passover alone but this Passover lest somebody should adapt this saying to his own purpose by tricks. The Passover consists, as I said, of meat roasted in fire and the other things. 4. They, however, destroyed the true order and changed the passage; that is clear to everyone because of the words that belong to each other and they made the disciples say: "Where do you wish that we prepare the Passover to eat for you?" And they made him answer: "I do not earnestly desire to eat meat with you this Passover". 5. How then will this deceit not be brought to light, since — the order of words being clear — the *mu* and the *eta* have been added? For instead of saying: "I earnestly desired", they added the word "not". Actually he said: "I earnestly desired to eat this Passover with you". They, however, added "meat" and deceived themselves recklessly speaking the words: "I did not desire earnestly to eat meat with you this Passover." It is clearly demonstrated that he both celebrated Passover and ate meat, as I said before.

23 1. They accept the names of the apostles hypocritically, trying to persuade those who have been deceived by them and they invent books in their names as if these were from the hands of James, Matthew and other disciples. 2. To these names they also add the name of John the apostle in order that their foolishness may come to light on all sides. For he does not only refute them at every place, saying: "In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God", but he also expounds the testimonies of the holy prophets,

ματος ἁγίου ὁρμώμενος καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος εἰρημένα καλῶς ἀκριβολογήσας περὶ ἐκάστης ὑποθέσεως τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πληρωθείσης, ὡς εἶπον, τὰς μαρτυρίας ἐξέθετο, ἀφ' ὧν προφητῶν οὗτοι ἑαυτοὺς ἀπηλλοτριώσαν.

24.1. Πάλιν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ἅγιος Ἰωάννης κηρύττων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἱστορεῖται παράδοξον ἔργον τι πεποιηκὼς εἰς ὑπογραμμὸν τῆς ἀληθείας. πολιτείαν γὰρ ἔχων θαυμασιωτάτην καὶ συμπρέπουσαν αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀξιώματι τῆς ἀποστολῆς καὶ μηδ' ὅλως λουόμενος, ἠναγκάσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος προελθεῖν ἕως τοῦ βαλανείου, εἰπὼν ὅτι „λάβετε μοι τὰ πρὸς βαλανεῖον,„ 2. καὶ τῶν συνεπομένων θαυμαζόντων ἦλθεν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ λουτρὸν καὶ γεγονῶς πρὸς τὸν εἰωθότα ὑποδέχεσθαι τῶν λουομένων τὰ ἱμάτια ἤρετο τίς ἔνδον ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ· 3. ὁ δὲ ὀλεάριος <ὁ> ἐπὶ τῷ φυλάττειν τὰ ἱμάτια προσκαρτερῶν [ἐν τοῖς γὰρ γυμνασίοις ἔργον τοῦτό τιςιν ὑπάρχει πορισμοῦ ἕνεκα τῆς ἐφημέρου τροφῆς] ἔφη τῷ ἁγίῳ Ἰωάννῃ ὅτι Ἐβίων ἔνδον ἐστίν. 4. Ἰωάννης δὲ εὐθὺς συνεῖς τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ὁδηγίαν, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν προὔτρέψατο αὐτὸν ἕως τοῦ βαλανείου ἤκειν, ὡς ἔφην, μνήμης ἕνεκα τοῦ καταλιπεῖν ἡμῖν τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπόθεσιν, ὅτι τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ καὶ ἀπόστολοι καὶ υἱοὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀληθείας, τίνα δέ ἐστι τὰ σκεύη τοῦ πονηροῦ καὶ πύλαι Ἄιδου, μὴ κατισχύουσαι τῆς πέτρας καὶ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῇ οἰκοδομηθείσης ἁγίας θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας, 5. εὐθὺς ταράξας ἑαυτὸν καὶ οἰμώξας, ἡρέμα εἰς τὸ πάντας ἀκοῦσαι εἰς μαρτύριον παραστάσεως ἀχράντου διδασκαλίας „σπεύσατε, ἀδελφοί,“, ἔφη „ἐξέλθωμεν ἐντεῦθεν, μὴ πέσῃ τὸ βαλανεῖον καὶ κατορύξῃ ἡμᾶς μετὰ Ἐβίωνος τοῦ ἔνδον ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀσέβειαν,„ 6. καὶ μηδεὶς θαυμάζετω ἐπὶ τῷ ἀκοῦσαι Ἐβίωνα Ἰωάννη συντετυχηκέαι. πολυχρόνιος γὰρ καταμείνας τῷ βίῳ ὁ μακάριος Ἰωάννης διήρκεσεν ἄχρι τῆς τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ βασιλείας. 7. πάντες δὲ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ὅτι ἀπαλλοτριούσι τὴν τοῦ Ἐβίωνος πίστιν καὶ ἀλλοτρίαν ἡγήσαντο τοῦ αὐτῶν κηρύγματος τοῦ χαρακτήρος, παντὶ τῷ δήλῳ.

26.1. Αὐχοῦσι δὲ πάλιν περιτομὴν ἔχοντες καὶ σεμνύνονται δῆθεν ταύτην εἶναι σφραγίδα καὶ χαρακτῆρα τῶν τε πατριαρχῶν καὶ δικαίων τῶν κατὰ τὸν νόμον πεπολιτευμένων, δι' ἧς ἐξισοῦσθαι ἐκείνοις νομίζουσι· καὶ δῆτα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν σύστασιν ταύτης βούλονται φέρειν, ὡς καὶ οἱ περὶ Κήρινθον. 2. φασὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνων

as appears from his Gospel, in which he starts with the Holy Spirit and in which he expounds the testimonies of the prophets from whom they had alienated themselves, while he correctly traced what was said by the Saviour with regard to every word which had been fulfilled in Christ, as I said.

24 1. Next the holy John himself tells on an astonishing event which happened, when he preached in Asia, which is a lesson in truth. For, though he had an extraordinary admirable way of life which was in agreement with his office as an apostle he never washes himself entirely, but he was compelled by the Holy Spirit to go to the bath-house with the words: "Take the way to the bath-house before me". 2. And to the astonishment of those with him he entered the bathingplace and when he came to the man who usually takes the clothes of those taking a bath he asked who was inside. 3. The guardian who permanently watches over the clothes (for in the gymnasia this job exists for some people to earn their daily living) said to the holy John that Ebion was inside. 4. Immediately John understood that he had been guided by the Holy Spirit and for what reason he had been summoned to go to the bath-house, viz., as I said, in order to leave behind for us this lesson in truth and memory: which are servants of Christ and apostles and children of truth and which belongs to the household of the wicked one and what are the gates of Hades in order to prevent the rock and the Holy Church of God which is built upon it, being overpowered. 5. Immediately he was frightened and started to wail and he said slowly so that everyone should hear the testimony of the proof of a spotless doctrine: "Make haste, brothers, let us go from here lest the bath-house fall down and bury us with Ebion who is in the bath-house because of his godlessness". 6. And nobody need be astonished to hear that Ebion had been in touch with John. The blessed John has had a long life which lasted until the reign of Trajan. 7. But it is apparent to anyone that all apostles kept at a distance from the faith of Ebion and considered it to be alien to the character of their own preaching.

26 1. Next they are proud of having circumcision and therefore they honour it as being the seal and the distinguishing mark of the patriarchs and the righteous ones who lived according to the Law and they believe in this way that they become equal to them. Also they wish to find support for this custom in Christ himself, like the Cerinthians.

ληρώδη λόγον „ἄρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ εἶναι ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος,,¹ „περι-
ετμήθη, φησίν, ὁ Χριστός, καὶ σὺ περιτμήθητι,,.

33.3. τί δὲ καυχᾶται Ἑβίων περὶ περιτομῆς, ὅποτε καὶ οἱ εἰδωλο-
λάτραι καὶ ἱερεῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων περιτομὴν ἔχουσιν; ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ
Σαρακηνοὶ οἱ καὶ Ἰσμαηλῖται περιτομὴν ἔχουσι καὶ Σαμαρεῖται [καὶ
Ἰουδαῖοι] καὶ Ἰδουμαῖοι καὶ Ὀμηρίται. τούτων δὲ οἱ πλείους οὐ διὰ
νόμον τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ ἀλόγῳ τινὶ συνηθείᾳ.

31 2 1 (I, p. 383-384)

Οὐαλεντίνος μὲν οὖν οὗτος τῷ χρόνῳ διαδέχεται τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ
προτεταγμένους, Βασιλείδην τε καὶ Σατορνῖλον, Ἑβίωνά τε καὶ Κήριν-
θον καὶ Μήρινθον καὶ τοὺς ἄμφ' αὐτούς· οὗτοι γὰρ πάντες ἐν ἐνὶ καιρῷ
τῷ βίῳ κακῶς ἐφύσαν, ὀλίγῳ δὲ πρόσθεν μᾶλλον οἱ περὶ Κήρινθον καὶ
Μήρινθον καὶ Ἑβίωνα· ἅμα γὰρ τοῖς ἤδη μοι πρὸ αὐτῶν δεδηλωμένοις
ἀνεφύσαν.

anacephalaiosis, tom. 3

53 1-2 (II, p. 212)

1. Σαμφαῖοι, οἱ καὶ Ἑλκεσαῖοι, ἔτι δεῦρο τὴν Ἀραβίαν κατοικοῦν-
τες, καθύπερθεν τῆς νεκρᾶς θαλάσσης κειμένην χώραν· 2. οὔτινες
ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἠλξαι τινὸς ψευδοπροφήτου ἠπατημένοι, οὗ ἔτι δεῦρο ἐκ
τοῦ γένους ὑπῆρχον Μαρθοῦς καὶ Μαρθάνα, γυναῖκες δύο προσκυνού-
μεναι ὑπὸ τῆς αἰρέσεως ὡς θεαί, παραπλησίως τοῖς Ἑβιωναίοις τὰ
πάντα ἔχουσιν.

51 2 3 (II, p. 250)

ἔνθα γὰρ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐκ παρατριβῆς ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκήρυττεν ὁ
Ἑβίων καὶ ὁ Κήρινθος καὶ οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτούς, φημὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ...

51 3 6-4 2 (II, p. 251)

3.6. λέγουσι γὰρ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὰ Ἰωάννου ἀλλὰ Κηρίνθου καὶ οὐκ ἄξια
αὐτὰ φασιν εἶναι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. 4.1. Καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπιβολῆς εὐθὺς
ἐλέγχονται, „μήτε ἃ λέγουσι νοοῦντες μήτε περὶ τίνων διαβεβαιού-
νται,,² πῶς γὰρ ἔσται Κηρίνθου τὰ Κατὰ κηρίνθου λέγοντα; 2. Κήρινθος
γὰρ πρόσφατον καὶ ψιλὸν τὸν Χριστὸν λέγει ἄνθρωπον, ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης
αἰεὶ ὄντα <αὐ>τὸν Λόγον κεκήρυχε ...

¹ Matth. 10, 25.

² I Tim. 1,7.

2. For they also say in their silly prattle: "It must be sufficient for a pupil to be like his master". "Christ, they say, was himself circumcised therefore you also have to be circumcised".

33 3. How can Ebion boast of circumcision, when idolators and the Egyptian priests also have the circumcision? Yes, even the Saracenes and the Ismaelites know circumcision and the Samaritans (and the Jews) and the Idumaeans and the Homerites. Most of those do not observe this because of the Law but because of some custom, which one does not longer understand.

31 2 1

Valentine came after those who had been put before him, Basilides, Satornilus, Ebion, Cerinthus and Merinthus and those with them. For all these lived their vicious lives at the same time, but those with Cerinthus and Merinthus a little earlier, for they lived at the same time as those I mentioned before them.

anacephalaiosis t.3

53 1-2

1. The Sampsaean and the Elkesaites. They still live in Arabia, in the region above the Dead Sea. They have been deceived by Elxai, a false prophet, of whose family even up to the present time there exist Marthous and Marthana, two women who are honoured by the heresy as goddesses. In everything they are similar to the Ebionites.

51 2 3

Since here Ebion and Cerinthus and those with them preached that Christ was a mere man born of sexual intercourse. And I say in Asia ...

51 3 6

For they say that those things are not of John but of Cerinthus and that they are not worthy in the Church. 4 1. They are quickly refuted starting from their own point of view, since they do not understand what they say and are not sure about anything. 2. For how can that be of Cerinthus which was said against Cerinthus? For Cerinthus said that Christ was a mere man, born for the first time, but John preached him as the Word which had always been ...

51 6 7 (II, p. 255)

ἔνθεν γὰρ οἱ περὶ Κήρινθον καὶ Ἑβίωνα ψιλὸν αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον κατέσχον καὶ Μήρινθον καὶ Κλεόβιον εἴτ' οὖν Κλεόβουλον καὶ Κλαύδιον καὶ Δημᾶν καὶ Ἑρμογένην ...

51 7 3 (II, p. 257)

... φάσκων „ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν,“¹ ἵνα τινὰς μὲν ἐπιχειρητὰς δείξῃ, φημὶ δὲ τοὺς περὶ Κήρινθον καὶ Μήρινθον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους·

51 10 4 (II, p. 261)

Ἐνθεν γοῦν ὁ Λουκᾶς μετὰ τὸ διηγῆσασθαι τὰ πρῶτα πάλιν λέγει πῶς ἐν τῷ δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει ἀνήλθεν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἵνα μὴ παραλείψῃ τόπον τοῖς νομίμασιν αὐτὸν ἀπλῶς ἄνδρα τέλειον ἐν κόσμῳ πεφηνέναι καὶ εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην ἡκέναι, ὡς ὑπελήφθη ὑπὸ τε Κηρίνθου καὶ Ἑβίωνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων.

53 1 1-9 (II, p. 314-316)

1.1. Σαμψαίων τινῶν ἐν τῇ Περαιᾷ, περὶ ὧν ἤδη ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις αἱρέσεσιν ἐπεμνήσθημεν, τῶν δὴ καὶ Ἑλκεσαίων καλουμένων, αἵρεσίς τις ὑπάρχει ἐν τῇ Περαιᾷ οὕτω καλουμένη χώρα πέραν τῆς ἁλυκῆς ἥτοι νεκρᾶς καλουμένης θαλάσσης, ἐν <τε> τῇ Μωαβίτιδι χώρα περὶ τὸν χειμάρρουν Ἀρνῶν καὶ ἐπέκεινα ἐν τῇ Ἰτουραίᾳ καὶ Ναβατίτιδι, ὡς καὶ ἤδη μοι πολλάκις περὶ τούτων δεδήλωται. 2. οὗτοι γὰρ αὐχοῦσι τὸν Ἠλξαῖον αὐτῶν εἶναι διδάσκαλον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ εἰς δεῦρο τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ ὑπαρχούσας δύο γυναῖκας, προσκυνουμένας ὡς θεὰς δῆθεν διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὰς ἐκ σπέρματος εὐλογημένου. 3. κέχρηται δὲ τῇ βίβλῳ ταύτῃ καὶ Ὀσσαῖοι καὶ Ἑβιωναῖοι καὶ Ναζωραῖοι, ὡς καὶ ἤδη πολλάκις εἶπον. φύσει δὲ οὗτοι οἱ Σαμψαῖοι ἐξ αὐτῆς ὁρμῶνται, οὔτε Χριστιανοὶ ὑπάρχοντες οὔτε Ἰουδαῖοι οὔτε Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ μέσον ἀπλῶς ὑπάρχοντες οὐδὲν εἰσι. φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο βιβλίον ἔχειν Ἰεξαὶ λεγόμενον ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Ἠλξαῖ. 4. Θεὸν δὲ ἕνα λέγουσι καὶ δῆθεν αὐτὸν σέβουσι βαπτισμοῖς τισι χρώμενοι· πρόσκεινται δὲ Ἰουδαίοις οὐκ ἐν ᾗπασιν. ἀπέχονται δὲ καὶ ἐμφύχων τινὲς ἐξ αὐτῶν. 5. ὑπεραποθνήσκουσι δὲ τῶν ἐκ γένους τοῦ Ἠλξαῖ. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἡκηκόειν ὅτι τέθνηκεν ἡ μία γυνὴ ἡ Μαρθοῦς καλουμένη, ἔμεινε δὲ καὶ ἔτι νῦν Μαρθᾶνα, εἰ μὴ καὶ αὐτὴ τέθνηκεν. 6. εἴ ποτε δὲ ἕξοδον εἶχον αἱ τοιαῦται ποι βαδίζουσαι, συνεπόμενοι οἱ ὄχλοι αὐτῶν τὸν χοῦν τῶν

¹ Luke, 1,1.

51 6 7

For therefore those around Cerinthus and Ebion mistook him for a mere man, as also those around Merinthus, Cleobios, or Cleobulos, Claudius, Demas and Hermogenes ...

51 7 3

... saying: "since many have undertaken" in order to show some of those undertakers, I mean those around Cerinthus, Merinthus and the others.

51 10 4

Therefore Luke, after having written about the beginning, says how he came to Jerusalem when he was twelve years old so that there is no room left for those who believed that he only appeared as a perfect man in the world and came to John at the river Jordan, as is accepted by Cerinthus, Ebion and the others.

53 1 1-9

1. In Perea a heresy exists of men who are named Sampsaecans whom we mentioned already in connection with other heresies; they are also called Elkesaites. This heresy is found in the so-called country of Perea at the other side of the so-called Dead Sea and in the region of Moabitis at the river Arnon and on the other side of it in Iturea and Nabatitis, as I have made clear concerning them several times. 2. For these are proud to have Elxaios as their teacher. Up to the present day there are two women of his family who are worshipped as goddesses because they originated from his famous seed. 3. That book was also in use by the Ossaeans, Ebionites and Nazoraeans as I have already often said. With regard to their character these Sampsaecans start with that book. They are neither Christians, nor Jews nor Greeks keeping to the middle way they are actually nothing. They say also they possess another book, Iexai, called after Elxai's brother. 4. They say that God is one and they honour him. They make use of some baptisms. Not in all respects do they belong to the Jews, for some of them refuse to eat animal meat. 5. They die for the members of the family of Elxai. In this time we heard that one of the women, called Marthous, died; Marthana, however, is living up to the present day unless she also has died. 6. When these women happened to go outside

ποδῶν λαμβάνοντες ἰάσεως ἔνεκεν δῆθεν καὶ τὸν σίελον τῶν πτυσμάτων ὡσαύτως μεγάλως ἐμπαιζόμενοι ἐχρῶντο ἐν φυλακτηρίοις τε καὶ περιάπτοις. πᾶσα γὰρ πλάνη ἔσχε πρῶτον τὴν τύφλωσιν, ἔπειτα τὴν κενοφωνίαν. 7. καὶ οὔτε προφῆτας δέχονται οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὔτε ἀποστόλους, τὰ πάντα δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡπάτῃται. τετίμηται δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τοῦτο ὡς θεὸν ἡγοῦνται, σχεδὸν φάσκοντες εἶναι τὴν ζωὴν ἐκ τούτου. 8. Χριστὸν δὲ ὀνόματι ὁμολογοῦσι, κτίσμα αὐτὸν ἡγούμενοι καὶ αἰεὶ ποτε φαινόμενον. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πεπλάσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ, ἐκδύεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἀδὰμ καὶ πάλιν ἐνδύεσθαι, ὅτε βούλεται. 9. καλεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν Χριστὸν καὶ εἶναι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ θηλυκῶ σχήματι ὑπάρχουσιν, ἐνενήκοντα ἔξ μιλίων τὸ ὕψος ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἔχον. τὸν τε Χριστὸν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ τὸ πλάτος εἰκοσιτεσσάρων, καὶ πολλὰ ληρώδη ἔτερα *.

69 23 1-2 (III, p. 172)

23.1. Διὸ καὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐλθὼν ὁ μακάριος καὶ εὐρὼν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἡσυχολημένους περὶ τὴν κάτω Χριστοῦ παρουσίαν, [καὶ] τῶν μὲν Ἑβραίων πλανηθέντων διὰ τὴν ἔνσαρκον Χριστοῦ γενεαλογίαν ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ <ὑπὸ Ματθαίου> καταγομένην καὶ Λουκᾶ ἀναγομένην ἄχρι τοῦ Ἀδὰμ, εὐρὼν τε τοὺς Κηρινθιανούς καὶ Μηρινθιανούς ἐκ παρατριβῆς αὐτὸν λέγοντας εἶναι ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τοὺς Ναζωραίους καὶ ἄλλας πολλὰς αἱρέσεις, 2. ὡς κατόπιν ἐλθὼν [τέταρτος γὰρ οὗτος εὐαγγελίζεται] ἄρχεται ἀνακαλεῖσθαι ὡς εἰπεῖν τοὺς πλανηθέντας καὶ ἡσυχολημένους περὶ τὴν κάτω Χριστοῦ παρουσίαν καὶ λέγειν αὐτοῖς ὡς κατόπιν βαίνων καὶ ὁρῶν τινὰς εἰς τραχείας ὁδοὺς κεκλικότας καὶ ἀφέντας τὴν εὐθείαν καὶ ἀληθινὴν, ὡς εἰπεῖν· ποῖ φέρεσθε; ποῖ βαδίζετε οἱ τὴν τραχεῖαν ὁδὸν καὶ σκανδαλώδη καὶ εἰς χάσμα φέρουσαν βαδίζοντες; ἀνακάμψατε.

78 7 7 (III, p. 457)

ἔσχε μὲν οὖν πρωτότοκον τὸν Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Ὡβλίαν, ἔρμηνευόμενον τεῖχος, καὶ δίκαιον ἐπικληθέντα, Ναζιραῖον δὲ ὄντα, ὅπερ ἔρμηνεύεται ἅγιος.

AMBROSIASTER

comm. in ep. ad Gal., ed. *MPL* 17

ca. 375

prol. (c. 357B)

Omnis credens in Christum, et observans legem factorum, male intelligit Christum: sicut et Symmachiani, qui ex Phariseis originem

and went for a journey the crowds followed them and collected the dust of their feet in order to perform healings and also they practised deceit in a gross way with their spittle and used this in amulets and charms. For every error begins with blindness and continues with silly prattle. 7. They do not accept prophets, or apostles and everything is presented by them in a deceitful way. Water, however, is honoured by them and they consider it to be God, saying, I believe that from water life was derived. 8. They confess Christ in name believing that he was created and that he appears time and again. He was formed for the first time in Adam and he puts off the body of Adam and assumes it again whenever he wished. 9. He is called Christ and the Holy Spirit who is a female being, is his sister. Both of them, Christ and the Holy Spirit, were 96 miles in height and their breadth was 24 miles, and much other silly prattle.

69 2 3

Therefore, when the blessed John came and found that the people were preoccupied with the coming of Christ from on high and while the Ebionites erred because of the earthly genealogy of Christ which comes down from Abraham in Matthew and goes up to Adam in Luke, when he found, then, the Cerinthians and Merinthians saying that he was a mere man born of sexual intercourse and the Nazoraeans and many other heresies, when he came, then, as the last one (for he was the fourth to write a Gospel), some began to invite him to speak to erring ones and to those preoccupied with the coming of Christ from on high and to say to them, he being the last one to come and seeing some people had turned to rough paths and had said farewell to the straight and true path: Whither do you go? Whither do you proceed, who are proceeding on the rough and scandalous way which leads to the pit? Turn back.

78 7 7

He possessed a first-born son, James, also named Oblias, which means "wall" and was also named the righteous one, being a Naziraeon, which means "holy one".

AMBROSIASTER

comm. in ep. ad Gal.
prol.

Everyone who believes in Christ and observes the Law of works has understood Christ badly, like the Symmachians also who deduce

trahunt, qui servata omni lege, Christianos se dicunt, more Photini Christum non Deum et hominem, sed hominem tantummodo definientes.

GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS

orationes, ed. *MPG* 35

ca. 380

XXV 8 (c. 1208C)

**Ἦν ὅτε γαλήνην εἶχομεν ἀπὸ τῶν αἱρέσεων, ἥνίκα Σίμωνες μὲν, καὶ Μαρκίωνες, Οὐαλεντῖνοί τε τινες, καὶ Βασιλεῖδαι, καὶ Κέρδωνες, Κήρινοί τε καὶ Καρποκράταις, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ περὶ ἐκείνους φλυαρία τε καὶ τερατεία, ἐπὶ πλείστον τὸν τῶν ὄλων Θεὸν τεμόντες, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ τῷ Δημιουργῷ πολεμήσαντες, ἔπειτα κατεπόθησαν τῷ ἑαυτῶν βυθῷ καὶ τῇ σιγῇ παραδοθέντες, ὥσπερ ἦν ἄξιον.*

AMBROSE

de fide, ed. Faller, in: *CSEL* 78

379/380

V 8, 105 (p. 255)

Nam filius dei est contra Hebionem filius David est contra Manichaeos, filius dei est contra Fotinum, filius David est contra Marcionem, filius dei est contra Paulum Samosatenum...

DIDYMUS THE BLIND

comm. in Psalm., ed. Gronewald, in: *Papyr. Texte u. Abhandl.* 8 398

p. 184, 9-10

τὸν Μαθθαῖον δοκεῖ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λουκᾶν Λεὺν ὀνομάζειν. οὐκ ἐστὶν δὲ αὐτός, ἀλλὰ ὁ κατασταθεὶς ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα ὁ Μαθθίας καὶ ὁ Λεὺς εἰς διώνυμοι εἰσιν. ἐν τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦτο φαίνεται.

JEROME

epist., ed. Labourt, *Budé* I-VIII

20 5 (I, p. 83)

383

Denique Matheus qui euangelium hebraeo sermone conscripsit ita posuit: "osianna barrama", id est "ossana in excelsis". ...¹.

¹ Matth. 21,9 and Mark. 11,10.

their origin from the Pharisees who, observing the entire Law, call themselves Christians, declaring Christ to be not God and man but only man, in the way of Photinus.

GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS

orationes

XXV 8

There are periods that we have rest from the side of the heresies, at the time when the Simonites, the Marcionites, the Valentinians, the Basilidians, the Cerdonians, the Cerinthians, the Carpocratians with all their foolishness and talk about marvels, were dividing the God of All and fought against the Demiurge for the sake of "Goodness", and they thereupon were swallowed up by their own "Death" and handed over to the "Silence" as they deserved ...

AMBROSE

de fide

V 8, 105

For the Son of God is against Hebion, the Son of David is against the Manichaeans, the Son of God is against Photinus, the Son of David against Marcion, the Son of God against Paul of Samosata ...

DYDIMUS THE BLIND

comm. in psalm.

It seems that Matthew is named Levi in the Gospel according to Luke. But they are not the same, but Mathias who replaced Judas and Levi are the same with a double name. This appears from the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

JEROME

epist.

20 5

Finally Matthew, who wrote the Gospel in the Hebrew language, put in it the following way: "Osianna barrama", which means: "ossana in excelsis ...".

57 11 (III, p. 71)

395/396

Aquila autem, proselytus et contentiosus interpret, qui non solum uerba, sed etymologias uerborum transferre conatus est, iure proicitur a nobis.

112 13 (VI, p. 31-32)

404

Haec ergo summa est quaestionis, immo sententiae tuae: ut post Euangelium Christi, bene faciant credentes Iudaei, si Legis mandata custodiant, hoc est, si sacrificia offerant, quae obtulit Paulus, si filios circumcidant, si sabbatum seruent, ut Paulus, in Timotheo et omnes obseruauere Iudaei. Si hoc uerum est, in Cerinthi et Hebionis heresim delabimur, qui credentes in Christo propter hoc solum a parentibus anathematizati sunt, quod Legis caerimonias Christi Euangelio miscuerunt; et sic noua confessi sunt, ut uetera non ammitterent. Quid dicam de Hebionitis, qui Christianos esse se simulant? Usque hodie per totas Orientis synagogas inter Iudaeos haeresis est, quae dicitur Minaeorum, et a Phariseis huc usque damnatur: quos uulgo Nazaraeos nuncupant, qui credunt in Christum, Filium Dei, natum de Maria uirgine, et eum dicunt esse, qui sub Pontio Pilato passus est, et resurrexit, in quem et nos credimus: sed dum uolunt et Iudaei esse et Christiani, nec Iudaei sunt, nec Christiani.

112 16 (VI, p. 36)

Hoc nec bonum, nec malum est: siue enim feceris, siue non feceris, nec iustitiam habebis, nec iniustitiam. Obseruare autem Legis caerimonias, non potest esse indifferens: sed aut bonum est, aut malum est. Tu dicis bonum, ego adsero malum: et malum non solum his qui ex gentibus; sed et his qui ex Iudaico populo crediderunt. in hoc, ni fallor, loco, dum aliud uitas, in aliud deuolueris. Dum enim metuis Porphyrium blasphemantem, in Hebionis incurris laqueos his, qui credunt ex Iudaeis, obseruandam Legem esse decernens. Et quia periculosum intellegis esse quod dicis, rursum illud superfluis uerbis temperare conaris, "sine ulla salutis necessitate: sicut Iudaei celebranda putabant, aut fallaci simulatione, quod in Petro reprehenderat".

57 11

But we are right to reject Aquila, the proselyte and controversial translator, who has tried to translate not words only but also their etymologies.

112 13

Therefore this is the main point of the question, anyway in your opinion, that the believing Jews after the coming of the Gospel of Christ to well if they keep the instructions of the Law which means if they offer sacrifices, which Paul offered, if they circumcise their children, if they keep the Sabbath, like Paul and Timothy, and all the Jews observe. If this is true, we shall fall into the heresy of Cerinthus and Hebion, who believe in Christ and for this only have been anathematized by the fathers, because they mixed the ceremonies of the Law with the Gospel of Christ and in this way they confessed new things while they did not cut loose from the old. What shall I say of the Ebionites who claim to be Christians? Until now a heresy is to be found in all parts of the East where Jews have their synagogues; it is called "of the Minaeans" and cursed by the Pharisees up to now. Usually they are named Nazoraeans. They believe in Christ, the Son of God born of Mary the virgin, and they say about him that he suffered and rose again under Pontius Pilate, in whom also we believe, but since they want to be both Jews and Christians, they are neither Jews nor Christians.

112 16

This is neither good nor bad — for whether you should do it or not, you have no righteousness or unrighteousness —; it can, however, not be indifferent whether you observe the ceremonies of the Law, for it is good or bad. You say that it is good; I maintain that it is bad, and bad not only for those who are of the Gentiles but also for those among the Jewish people who believe. At this point if I am not mistaken while you avoid the one, you arrive at the other. For since you are affraid of the blaspheming Porphyrius, you run into the snares of Hebion who decides for them who believe among the Jews, that the Law has to be observed. And because you understand that what you say is dangerous, you try to mitigate it again with superfluous words: "without any necessity for salvation, as the Jews thought that they have to be celebrated, or without any false pretext, which he had blamed in Peter".

120 8 (VI, p. 139)

407

In euangelio autem quod Hebraicis litteris scriptum est, legimus, non uelum templi scissum; sed superliminare templi mirae magnitudinis conruisse.

125 12 (VII, p. 124)

after 407

Ad quam edomandam, cuidam fratri, qui ex Hebraeis crediderat, me in disciplinam dedi, ...

adv. Luc., ed. *MPL* 23

ca. 382

23 (c. 187A/B)

Ad eos venio haereticos, qui Evangelia laniaverunt. Saturninum quemdam, et Ophitas, et Cainaeos, et Sethoitas, et Carpocratem, et Cerinthum, et hujus successorem Ebionem, et caeteras pestes, quorum plurimi vivente adhuc Joanne apostolo eruperunt, et tamen nullum eorum legimus rebaptizatum.

26 (c. 189C-190A)

Diaconus eras, et Ebionis baptisma comprobabas ...¹ Non servo unius tori castitatem, talis eram quando conceptus es: cum Ario adulteria committo, feci et antea cum Praxea, cum Ebione, cum Cerintho, Novato: hos amplexaris, hos in matris tuae domum jam adulteros recipis. Nescio quid te unus adulter offendat.

de perp. virg. adv. Helvidiam, ed. *MPL* 23

ca. 383

17 (c. 211B-212A)

Nunquid non possum tibi totam veterum scriptorum seriem commovere: Ignatium, Polycarpum, Irenaeum, Justinum martyrem, multosque alios apostolicos et eloquentes viros, qui adversus Ebionem, et Theodotum Byzantium, Valentinum, haec eadem sentientes, plena sapientiae volumina conscripserunt?

¹ Scil. Hilarius.

120 8

But in the gospel which is written in Hebrew letters we read that not the curtain of the temple but the upper-treshold of the temple, being of marvellous size, fell down.

125 12 1

... to subdue (scil. the turbulence of my heart) I entrusted myself to be taught by a believing brother who had been a Jew.

adv. Luc.

23

I come to those heretics who tear up the Gospels, a certain Saturninus, the Ophites, the Cainites, the Sethians, Carpocrates, Cerinthus and his successor Ebion and the other pests, most of whom broke out while the apostle John was still alive, and yet we do not read that any of these men were re-baptized.

26

You were a deacon and acknowledged Ebion's baptism. ... I do not keep one marriage bed undefiled, but I was the same as when you were conceived: if I commit adultery with Arius, I did the same before with Praxeas, Ebion, Cerinthus and Novatus. You think much of them and welcome them in your mother's house, adulterers as they are. I do not know why one adulterer offends you more than others.

de perp. virg. adv. Helvidiam

17

Can I possibly not array against you the whole series of ancient writers? Ignatius, Polycarp, Irenaeus, Justin Martyr and many other apostolic and eloquent men who against Ebion, Theodotion of Byzantium and Valentinus hold these same views and write volumes full of wisdom.

in Gal. ed. *MPL* 26

386/387

1,1 (c. 336D)

Verum non talis¹ apostolus Paulus, qui neque ab hominibus, neque per hominem, sed a Deo Patre per Jesum Christum missus est. Ex quo approbatur, Ebionis et Photini etiam hinc haeresis retudenda, quod Dominus noster Jesus Christus, Deus sit: dum Apostolus quia a Christo ad praedicationem Evangelii missus est, negat se missum esse ab homine.

1,1 (c. 337A)

Atque ita Ecclesiae fides inter tanta falsorum dogmatum naufragia constituta, si Christum fateatur hominem, Ebion Photinusque subrepunt: si Deum esse contenderit, Manichaeus, et Marcion, novelli dogmatis auctor, ebulliunt. In commune itaque audiant, Christum et Deum esse et hominem.

1,11-12 (c. 346C)

“Notum enim vobis facio, fratres, Evangelium quod evangelizatum est a me: quia non est secundum hominem, neque enim ego ab homine accepi illud, neque didici; sed per revelationem Jesu Christi”.² Et hoc loco Ebionis et Photini dogma conteritur, quod Deus sit Christus, en non tantum homo. Si enim Evangelium Pauli non est secundum hominem, neque ab homine accepit illud, aut didicit, sed per revelationem Jesu Christi; non est utique homo Jesus Christus, qui Paulo Evangelium revelavit.

3,13-14 (c. 387B)

Porro Adama אֲדָמָא “terra” sive “humus” lingua Hebraea appellatur. In eo autem loco ubi Aquila et Theodotio similiter transtulerunt dicentes: “Quia maledicit Dei est suspensus”,³ in Hebraeo ita ponitur KI KLALATH ELOIM THALUI. Haec verba Ebion ille haeresiarches semi-Christianus, et semi-Judaeus ita interpretatus est *ὅτι ὕβρις Θεοῦ ὁ κρεμόμενος*, id est, “quia injuria Dei est suspensus”.

5,3 (c. 423B)

Coarctabimus itaque Ebionem, et sectatores ejus, qui post Evangelium credentes in Christo circumcidendos putant, ut aut circumcisionem

¹ Scil. Pseudo-Apostles of II Cor. 11,13.

² Gal. 1,11-12.

³ Gal. 3,13, cf. Deut. 21,23.

in Gal.

1,1

But Paul who has not been sent by men neither through men but by God the Father through Jesus Christ, is not such an apostle. By this it is shown — by this the heresy of Ebion and Photinus has to be rejected — that our Lord Jesus Christ is God: since the Apostle denies that he has been sent by a man because he has been sent by Christ to preach the Gospel.

And after the faith of the Church has thus been established among so many wrecks of false doctrines, if it confesses Christ as man, Ebion and Photinus creep inside; if it declares that He is God, Mani and Marcion, the originator of a new doctrine bubble up. Let them, all at the same time, therefore hear that Christ is at the same time both God and man.

1,11-12

“I make known to you, brothers, the gospel which has been preached by me: because it is not according to men, for neither have I accepted it from man, neither did I learn it, but through a revelation of Jesus Christ”. And by this passage the dogma of Ebion and Photinus is smashed up because Christ is God and not only man. For if the Gospel of Paul is not according to man, and neither did he accept it from man or learn it but through a revelation of Jesus Christ, then it is (in any case not a man) Jesus Christ who revealed the Gospel to Paul.

3,13-14

Then the word Adama means “earth” or “soil” in the Hebrew language. In that passage, however, where Aquila and Theodotion translated similarly, saying: “Because the curse of God has been hanged”, in Hebrew it is put in this way KI KLALATH ELOIM THALUI. These words have been translated by Ebion that archeretic, half-Christian and half-Jew in this way ὅτι ὑβρις Θεοῦ ὁ κρεμάμενος, which means “Because the unrighteousness of God has been hanged”.

5,3

Therefore we shall oblige Ebion and the members of his sect, who after the coming of the Gospel think that those who believe in Christ

faciant, et caetera quae preacipiuntur in lege; aut si impossibile est cuncta fieri, cesset et circumcisio, quae cum caeteris quasi inutilis praetermissa est.

in Eph., ed. *MPL* 26
386/387

4,10 (c. 531C)

Hic locus adversum Ebionem, et Photinum, vel maxime facit. Si enim ipse est ascendens in coelos, qui de coelis ante descenderat, quomodo Dominus noster Jesus Christus non ante Mariam est, sed post Mariam?

5,4 (c. 552C/D)

... ut in Hebraico quoque Evangelio legimus, Dominum ad discipulos loquentem: "Et nunquam", inquit, "laeti sitis, nisi cum fratrem vestrum videritis in charitate".

in Tit., ed. *MPL* 26
386/387

3,10-11 (c. 633A)

Superfluum est ire per singula, et Marcionem, Valentinum, Apellem, Ebionem, Montanum, et Manichaeum cum suis enumerare dogmatibus: cum perfacile sit unicuique cognoscere quibus singuli ducantur erroribus.

de situ et nom. loc hebr. liber, ed. de Lagarde
390

112 (p. 146)

Choba ad laeuam partem Damasci. est autem et uilla Chobaa in iisdem regionibus, habens adcolas Hebraeos, qui credentes in Christum omnia legis praecepta custodiunt, et a principe haereseos *Ἐβριωνῖται* nuncupantur. contra istius modi dogmata Paulus apostolus scribit ad Galatas.

143 (p. 175)

Nazareth, unde et dominus noster saluator Nazaraeus uocatus est. sed et nos apud ueteres quasi pro obprobrio Nazaraei dicebamus quos have to be circumcised, to submit to circumcision and the other things

which have been dictated in the Law or if it is impossible to do everything, in that case also circumcision must be left aside which has been omitted with the rest as being unnecessary.

in Eph.

4,10

This passage speaks very well against Ebion and Photinus. For if he who ascended into heaven is the one who first descended from heaven, how can our Lord Jesus Christ be not before Mary, but after Mary?

5,4

... as we also read in the Hebrew Gospel that the Lord said to the disciples: "And never rejoice", he said, "unless when you look at your brother in love".

in Tit.

3,10-11

It is superfluous to go into details, to sum up Marcion, Valentinus, Apelles, Ebion, Montanus and Mani with their dogmas: because it is very easy for everyone to know into which errors each of them is lead astray.

de situ et nom. loc. hebr. liber

112

Choba left from Damascus. There is however also a village Chobaa in the same region with Hebrew inhabitants who believe in Christ and keep all the commandments of the Law and from the beginning these heretics are called Ebionites. Against dogmas of that kind Paul wrote to the Galatians.

143

Nazareth, after which our Lord the Saviour was called Nazaraeus. But also we who are now called christians were called Nazoraeans nunc christianos uocant. est autem usque hodie in Galilaea uiculus

contra Legionem, in quinto decimo eius milliario, ad occidentalem plagam iuxta montem Thabor nomine Nazara.

in Micha, ed. Adriaen, in: *CC* (Ser. Lat.) LXXXVI
ca. 391

7,5-7 (p. 513)

Et nurus consurgit aduersus socrum suam, quod iuxta tropologiam intellectu uidetur difficile, sed qui legerit Canticum canticorum, et sponsum animae, Dei sermonem intellexerit, credideritque euangelio, quod secundum Hebraeos editum nuper transtulimus, in quo ex persona Saluatoris dicitur: “Modo tulit me mater mea, sanctus Spiritus in uno capillorum meorum”, non dubitabit dicere, sermonem Dei ortum esse de spiritu et animam, quae sponsa sermonis est, habere socrum sanctum Spiritum, qui apud Hebraeos genere dicitur feminino rua.

in Hab., ed. Adriaen, in: *CC* (Ser. Lat.) LXXXVIA
ca. 391

3,10-13 (p. 641)

Theodotio autem uere quasi pauper et Ebionita, sed et Symmachus eiusdem dogmatis, pauperem sensum secuti, Iudaice transtulerunt: “Egressus es in salutem populi tui, ut saluares Christum tuum”, et: “Egressus es saluare populum tuum, saluare Christum tuum”.¹ Rem incredibilem dicturus sum, sed tamen ueram. Isti semichristiani Iudaice transtulerunt, et Iudaeus Aquila interpretatus est, ut Christianus.

de vir. ill. ed. Bernoulli, in: *Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengesch. Quellenschriften* 11

392

II (p. 7-8)

Hic est de quo et apostolus Paulus scribit ad Galatas: Alium autem apostolorum uidi neminem nisi Iacobum fratrem Domini;² et apostolorum crebrius super hoc acta testantur, et euangelium quoque quod appellatur secundum Hebreos et a me nuper in graecum sermonem latinumque translatus est, quo et Adamantius saepe utitur, post resurrectionem Saluatoris refert: Dominus autem cum dedisset, sin-

¹ Hab. 3,13.

² Gal. 2,19.

with the ancient ones as if it were a nickname. But also up to now there is a village in Galilee over against Legio, being a distant of fifteen miles, to the West, next to the Mount Tabor, with the name Nazara.

in Micha

7,6

And the daughter in law raises against her mother in law which, taken metaphorically, seems difficult to understand but who should read the Song of Songs and should understand the spouse of the soul, the word of God, and should believe the Gospel which is edited according to the Hebrews and which we translated not long ago, in which it is said of the person of the Saviour: "My mother the Holy Spirit just took me by one of my hairs", will not hesitate to say that the word of God originated from the spirit and that the soul which is the spouse of the word has a mother in law the Holy Spirit, which has in the Hebrew the feminine gender, called *rua*.

in Hab.

3,10-13

Theodotion, however, as being poor and an Ebionite, but also Symmachus of the same dogma, following a poor reasoning, translate in a Jewish way: "You went out for the salvation of your people in order to save your Christ", and "You went out to save your people, to save your Christ". I shall say an incredible thing but it is nevertheless true. Those semi-Christians translated in a Jewish way and the Jew Aquila interpreted as a Christian.

de vir. ill.

II

This is that about which the apostle Paul also writes to the Galatians: "But another of the apostles I did not see apart from James, the brother of the Lord"; and the Acts of the Apostles repeatedly mention this and also the Gospel which is called according to the Hebrews and which I have recently translated into Greek and Latin of which also Origen often makes use, says after the account of the resurrection of

donem seruo sacerdotis, iit ad Iacobum et apparuit ei (iurauerat enim Iacobus se non comesurum panem ab illa hora qua biberat calicem Domini, donec uideret eum resurgentem a dormientibus) rursumque post paululum: Adferite, ait Dominus, mensam et panem. Statimque additur: Tulit panem et benedixit et fregit et dedit Iacobo Iusto et dixit ei: Frater mi, comede panem tuum, quia resurrexit Filius hominis a dormientibus.

III (p. 8-9)

Mattheus qui et Leui, ex publicano apostolus, primus in Iudea propter eos qui ex circumcisione crediderunt euangelium Christi hebreis litteris uerbisque composuit; quod quis postea in graecum transtulerit, non satis certum est. Porro ipsum hebraicum habetur usque hodie in Caesariensi bibliotheca, quam Pamphilus martyr studiosissime confecit. Mihi quoque a Nazareis qui in Veria,¹ urbe Syriae hoc uolumine utuntur, describendi facultas fuit. In quo animaduertendum quod ubicumque euangelista siue ex persona sua siue ex Domini Saluatoris ueteris scripturae testimoniis abutitur, non sequitur septuaginta translatorum auctoritatem, sed hebraicam. E quibus illa duo sunt: Ex Aegypto uocaui filium meum,² et: Quoniam Nazareus uocabitur.³

IX (p. 12-13)

Iohannes apostolus, quem Iesus amabat plurimum, filius Zebedei et frater Iacobi apostoli, quem Herodes post passionem Domini decolauerat, nouissimus omnium scripsit euangelium, rogatus ab Asiae episcopis, aduersus Cerinthum aliosque haereticos et maxime tunc Ebionitarum dogma consurgens, qui adserunt Christum ante Mariam non fuisse. Vnde etiam compulsus est, et diuinam eius natiuitatem edicere.

XVI (p. 17-18)

Cumque nauigans Smyrnam uenisset,⁴ ubi Polycarpus, auditor Iohannis, episcopus erat, scripsit unam epistulam ad Ephesios, alteram ad Magnesianos, tertiam ad Trallenses, quartam ad Romanos, et inde

¹ Mss: ueria, byria, berisa.

² Matth. 2,15

² Matth. 2,23

⁴ Ignatius.

the Lord: "But the Lord after he had given his linen cloth to the servant of the priest went to James and appeared to him (for James had sworn that he would not eat bread from the hour in which he drank the cup of the Lord until he had seen him rising again from those who sleep), and again, a little later, it says: "Bring the table and bread, said the Lord. And immediately it is added: "He brought bread and blessed and brake it and gave it to James the Just and said to him: My brother eat thy bread for the Son of Man is risen from those who sleep".

III

Matthew, also called Levi, an apostle after having been a publican, was the first to compose a gospel of Christ in Judea in Hebrew letters and words for the sake of those of the circumcision who believed. But who afterwards translated it into Greek is not sufficiently certain. The Hebrew itself has been preserved until the present day in the library at Caesarea which Pamphilus the martyr so diligently collected. From the Nazoraeans who use this book in Beroia, a city of Syria, I also received the opportunity to copy it. In this it is to be noted that where the evangelist, whether on his own account or in the person of our Lord the Saviour quotes the testimonies of the old Scripture he does not follow the authority of the translators of the Septuagint but the Hebrew. Wherefore these two (quotations?) exist: "Out of Egypt have I called my son", and "For he shall be called a Nazarene".

IX

John, the apostle whom Jesus most loved, the son of Zebedee and brother of James the apostle, who Herod, after the Lord's passion, beheaded, is the last one of all who wrote a Gospel, at the request of the bishops of Asia, against Cerinthus and other heretics and especially against the then growing dogma of the Ebionites, who asserted that Christ did not exist before Mary. For this reason he was compelled to announce his divine nativity.

XVI

And when by ship he had come back to Smyrna where Polycarp, who heard John, was bishop, he wrote a letter to Ephesus, a second time one to the Magnesians, a third one to the Trallians and a fourth

egrediens scripsit ad Philadelphinos et ad Smyrneos et proprie ad Polycarpum, commendans illi Antiochensem ecclesiam, ni qua et de euangelio, quod nuper a me translatum est, super persona Christi ponit testimonium dicens: Ego uero et post resurrectionem in carne eum uidi et credo, quia sit; et quando uenit ad Petrum et ad eos qui cum Petro erant dixit eis: Ecce palpate me et uidete, quia non sum daemonium incorporale. Et statim tetigerunt eum et crediderunt.

XXII (p. 21)

Hegesippus, uicinus apostolicorum temporum et omnes a passione Domini usque ad suam aetatem ecclesiasticorum actuum texens historias multaque ad utilitatem legentium pertinentia hinc inde congregans, quinque libros conposuit sermone simplici, ut, quorum uitam sectabatur, dicendi quoque exprimeret charactera. Adserit se uenisse sub Aniceto Romam, qui decimus post Petrum episcopus fuit, et perseuerasse usque ad Eleutherum, eiusdem urbis episcopum, qui Aniceti quondam diaconus fuerat. Praeterea aduersum idola disputans, quo primum errore creuissent, subtexit historiam, ex qua ostendit, qua floruerit aetate. Ait enim: Tumulos mortuis templaque fecerunt, sicut hodie uidemus, ex quibus est Antinous, seruus Hadriani Caesaris, cuius et gymnicus agon exercetur Antinoius, ciuitatemque ex eius condidit nomine et prophetas statuit in templo. Antinuum autem in deliciis habuisse Hadrianus Caesar scribitur.

LIV (p. 33)

Aquilae scilicet, Pontici proselyti et Theodotionis Hebionei et Symmachi eiusdem dogmatis, qui in euangelium quoque cata Mattheum scripsit commentarios, de quo et suum dogma confirmare conatur.

CVII (p. 50)

Fotinus de Gallograecia, Marcelli discipulus et Sirmii episcopus ordinatus, Hebionis heresim instaurare conatus est, et postea a Valentiniano principe pulsus ecclesia plura scripsit uolumina, in quibus uel praecipua sunt contra gentes et ad Valentinianum libri.

one to the Romans and leaving from there he wrote to the Philadelphians and Smyrnaeans and separately to Polycarp recommending the Antiochaeon Church to him. In this he bore also witness to the gospel which I have recently translated, in respect of the person of Christ saying: "I indeed saw him in the flesh after the resurrection and I believe that it was he, and when he came to Peter and those who were with Peter, he said to them: "Behold, touch me and see me how that I am not a demon without a body, and straightway they touched him and believed".

XXII

Hegesippus who lived at a period not far from the time of the apostles, weaving together a history of all ecclesiastical events from the passion of the Lord, down to his own period and therefore gathering from that time many things useful to his readers, composed five volumes in simple style, trying also to express the character of speech of those whose lives he treated. He says that he went to Rome in the time of Anicetus, the tenth bishop after Peter and continued there till the time of Eleutherus, bishop of the same city, who had formerly been deacon under Anicetus. Moreover, arguing against idols, he wrote a history, showing from what error they had first arisen and this work indicates in what age he flourished. He says: "They built monuments and temples to the dead as we see up to the present day, like one to Antinous, servant to the emperor Hadrian, under whose name also a game was celebrated, and he founded a city bearing his name, and he established a temple with prophets. It is written that the emperor Hadrian was found of Antinous".

LIV

(About Origen) ... namely of Aquila of Pontus, the proselyte, and Theodotion the Ebionite and Symmachus an adherent of the same dogma who also wrote commentaries on the gospel according to Matthew from which he also tried to establish his dogma.

CVII

Photinus of Gallograecia, a pupil of Marcellus, and ordained bishop of Sirmium, attempted to introduce the Ebionite heresy, and afterwards having been expelled from the church by the emperor Valentinianus wrote many volumes among which the most distinguished are *Against the Nations* and *To Valentinianus*.

in ps. 135 tract., ed. Morin, in: *Anal. Maredsolana* t. III 2
ca. 392

p. 262

In hebraico euangelio secundum Matthaeum ita habet: Panem nostrum crastinum da nobis hodie, hoc est, panem quem daturus es nobis in regno tuo, da nobis hodie.

in Matth., ed. Hurst and Adriaen, in: *CC* (Ser. Lat.) LXXVII
398

praef. (p. 2-3)

Is cum esset in Asia¹ et iam tunc hereticorum semina pullularent Cerinti, Hebionis et ceterorum qui negant Christum in carne uenisse, quos et ipse in epistula sua antichristos uocat² et apostolus Paulus frequenter percutit, coactus est ab omnibus paene tunc Asiae episcopis et multarum ecclesiarum legationibus de diuinitate Saluatoris altius scribere et ad ipsum ut ita dicam Dei uerbum non tam audaci quam felici temeritate prorumpere.

2,5 (p. 13)

“At illi dixerunt ei: In Bethleem Judae”.³ Librariorum error est; putamus enim ab euangelista primum editum sicut in ipso Hebraico legimus: “Iudae”, non Iudeae.

6,11 (p. 37)

In euangelio quod appellatur secundum Hebraeos pro supersubstantiali pane maar repperi, quod dicitur crastinum, ut sit sensus: “Panem nostrum crastinum”, id est futurum, “da nobis hodie”.⁴

12,2 (p. 87)

“Pharisaei autem uidentes dixerunt ei: Ecce discipuli tui faciunt quod non licet eis facere sabbatis”.⁵ Nota quod primi apostoli Saluatoris litteram sabbati destruunt aduersum Hebionitas, qui, cum ceteros recipiant apostolos, Paulum quasi transgressorem legis repudiant.

¹ Soil. John.

² II John 8.

³ Matth. 2,5.

⁴ Matth. 6,11.

⁵ Matth. 12,2.

in ps. 135 tract.

In the Hebrew Gospel, according to Matthew it is like this: Give us to-day our bread for to-morrow, which means, the bread which you will give us in your kingdom, give us do-day.

in Matth.

praef.

When he was in Asia and already then the seeds of the heretics were springing up, of Cerinthus, Ebion and the rest who deny Christ came in the flesh, whom he also himself in his epistle calls Antichrists and whom the apostle Paul frequently attacks, he was urged by almost all the bishops of Asia then living and by deputations from many churches to write more profoundly concerning the divinity of the Saviour and to break through, if I may say so, to the very word of God with a boldness even more successful than audacious.

2,5

“And they said to him: “In Bethlehem of Juda”. Here there is an error on the part of the copyists: for we believe that the evangelist in his first edition wrote, as we read in the original Hebrew: “Juda” and not “Judea”.

6,11

In the gospel which is called according to the Hebrews, I found MAAR in place of the bread which is necessary to support life, which means for to-morrow, so that the sense will be: “Give us our bread for to-morrow, that is, give us bread for the future to day”.

12,2

“The Pharisees, however, who saw this, said to him: Look, your disciples do something which they are not allowed to do on the Sabbath”. Notice that the first apostles of the Saviour destroyed the letter of the Sabbath against the Hebionites who while accepting the other apostles, reject Paul as a transgressor of the Law.

12,13 (p. 90)

“Tunc ait homini: Extende manum tuam. Et extendit, et restituta est sanitati sicut altera”.¹ In euangelio quo utuntur Nazareni et Hebionitae quod nuper in graecum de hebraeo sermone transtulimus et quod uocatur a plerisque Mathei authenticum, homo iste qui aridam habet manum caementarius scribitur, istiusmodi uocibus auxilium precans: “Caementarius eram manibus uictum quaeritans, precor te Iesu ut mihi restituas sanitatem ne turpiter mendicem cibos”.

13,53-54 (p. 115)

“Et factum est cum consummasset Iesus parabolas istas, transiit inde et ueniens in terram suam, docebat eos in synagoga eorum”.² Post parabolas quas locutus est ad populum et quas soli apostoli intellegunt, transiit in patriam suam ut ibi apertius doceat. “Unde huic sapientia haec uirtutes”?³ Mira stultitia Nazarenorum. Mirantur unde habeat sapientiam sapientia et uirtutes uirtus, sed error in promptu est quod fabri filium suspicabantur.

23,35 (p. 220)

In euangelio quo utuntur Nazareni pro filio Barachiae filium Ioiadae scriptum reperimus.

27,9-10 (p. 264-265)

Hoc testimonium in Hieremia non inuenitur, in Zacharia uero qui paene ultimus duodecim prophetarum est, quaedam similitudo fertur et quamquam sensus non multum discrepet, tamen et ordo et uerba diuersa sunt. Legi nuper in quodam hebraico uolumine quem Nazarenae sectae mihi Hebraeus obtulit Hieremiae apocryphum in quo haec ad uerbum scripta repperi. Sed tamen mihi uidetur magis de Zacharia sumptum testimonium, euangelistarum et apostolorum more uulgato qui uerborum ordine praetermisso sensus tantum de ueteri testamento proferunt in exemplum.

¹ Matth. 12,13.

² Matth. 13,53-54.

³ Matth. 13,54.

12,13

“Then he said to the man: Stretch out your hand. And he stretched it and it was restored to the same health as the other”. In the Gospel which the Nazoraeans and the Ebionites use which we translated recently from Hebrew to Greek and which is called the authentic text of Matthew by a good many, it is written that the man with the withered hand is a mason, praying for help with words of this kind: “I was a mason earning my living with my hands, I pray you, Jesus, to restore my health lest I must beg shamefully for my food.

13, 53-54

“And it came to pass that when Jesus had finished these parables he departed from there and going into his own country, he taught in their synagogues”. After the parables which he spoke to the people and which only the apostles understood, he went to his fatherland to teach there openly. “Whence came that wisdom, those powers?” Strange stupidity of the Nazoraeans! They wonder whence wisdom possessed wisdom and power possessed powers but their obvious error is that they looked only at the son of the carpenter.

23,35

In the gospel which the Nazoraeans use, we find that there is written “son of Ioiada” in place of the “son of Barachia”.

27,9-10

This proof-text is not found in Jeremiah, but in Zechariah, who comes about at the end of the twelve prophets; something similar is given and although the sense does not differ very much the order and the words are different. Recently I read a certain Hebrew work, which a Hebrew person of the Nazoraean sect offered me as the apocryphal book of Jeremiah, in which I found these words literally. Nevertheless it seems to me that the proof-text was probably taken from Zechariah in the way which is common among the evangelists and apostles, who neglecting the order of the words, prefer the sense of the Old Testament when they give an example.

27,16 (p. 265)

“Habebat autem tunc uinctum insignem qui dicebatur Barabbas”.¹ Iste in euangelio quod scribitur iuxta Hebraeos filius magistri eorum interpretatur qui propter seditionem et homicidium fuerat condemnatus.

27,51 (p. 275)

In euangelio cuius saepe facimus mentionem superliminare templi infinitae magnitudinis fractum esse atque diuisum legimus.

in Amos, ed. Adriaen, in: *CC* (Ser. Lat.) LXXVI

406

1,11-12 (p. 227)

... usque hodie in synagogis suis sub nomine Nazarenorum blasphemant² populum christianum ...

in Dan., ed. Glorie, in: *CC* (Ser. Lat.) LXXA

ca. 407

prol. (p. 774)

Illud quoque lectorem admoneo, Danielelem non iuxta LXX interpretes, sed iuxta Theodotionem ecclesias legere, qui utique post aduentum Christi incredulus fuit, licet eum quidem dicant Ebionitam, qui altero genere Iudaeus est.

in Esaiam, ed. Adriaen, in: *CC* (Ser. Lat.) LXXIII, LXXIIIA

408/410

1,3 (LXXIII, p. 9)

Simul arat in boue et asino Ebion, dignus pro humilitate sensus, paupertate nominis sui; qui sic recipit euangelium, ut iudaicarum superstitionum, quae in umbra et imagine praecesserunt, caeremonias non relinquat.

1,12 (LXXIII, p. 17)

“Quis enim quaesivit haec de manibus uestris?”.³ Audiant Ebionaei, qui post passionem Christi abolitam legem putant esse seruandam.

¹ Matth. 27,16.

² Scil. Jews.

³ Is. 1,12.

27,16

“But he had at that time a notorious man in prison whose name was Barabbas”. The name of this man interpreted in the Gospel according to the Hebrews as son of their master. He was condemned for rebellion and homicide.

27,51

In the gospel which we have already often mentioned we read that the upper-threshold of the temple, of an enormous size, was broken and slit.

in Amos

1,11-12

... until to-day in their synagogues they blaspheme the christian people under the name Nazoraeans.

*in Dan.**prol.*

I admonish the reader, not to read Daniel in the churches according to the interpreters of the LXX, but according to Theodotion, who certainly was an unbeliever after the coming of Christ although some say that he was an Ebionite which is another kind of Jew.

in Esaiam

1,3

In the same way Ebion ploughs with an ox and a donkey. Ebion earned the poverty of his name because of the lowness of his understanding. He received the gospel in such a way that he did not abandon the ceremonies of the Jewish superstition which had come before, being but shadow and image.

1,12

“For who asked for this from your hands?” Let it be heard by the Ebionites who believe that after the passion of Christ the Law which

Audiant Ebionitarum socii, qui Iudaeis tantum et de stirpe Israelitici generis haec custodienda decernunt.

5,18-19 (LXXIII, p. 76)

Dicuntur autem haec ad principes Iudaeorum, qui supra arguti sunt in auaritia atque luxuria, quod prouocati a Domino ad paenitentiam, et postea ab apostolis eius, usque hodie perseuerant in blasphemiiis et ter per singulos dies in omnibus synagogis sub nomine Nazarenorum anathematizent uocabulum Christianum.

8,11-15 (LXXIII, p. 116)

Duas domus Nazaraei, qui ita Christum recipiunt, ut obseruationes legis ueteris non omittant, duas familias interpretantur, Sammai et Hellel, ex quibus orti sunt scribae et pharisaei, quorum suscepti scholam Akibas, quem magistrum Aquilae proselyti autumat et post eum Meir, cui successit Ioannan filius Zachai, et post eum Eliezer, et per ordinem Telphon, et rursus Ioseph Galilaeus, et usque ad captiuitatem Hierusalem Iosue. Sammai igitur et Hellel non multo priusquam Dominus nasceretur, orti sunt in Iudaea, quorum prior dissipator interpretatur, sequens profanus; eo quod per traditiones et *δευτερώσεις* suas legis praecepta dissipauerit atque maculauerit. Et has esse duas domus, quae Saluatorem non receperint, qui factus sit eis in ruinam et scandalum.

8,19-22 (LXXIII), p. 121)

Ceterum Nazaraei locum istum ita disserunt: Cum dixerint ad uos scribae et pharisaei, ut eos audiatis, qui omnia uentris causa faciunt; et in morem magorum stridunt in incantationibus suis, ut uos decipiant, hoc eis respondere debetis. Non mirum si uos uestras traditiones sequamini, cum unaquaeque gens sua consulat idola. Ergo et nos a uobis mortuis de uiuentibus consulere non debemus, magis nobis Deus legem dedit, et testimonia scripturarum, quae si sequi nolueritis, non habebitis lucem, sed semper caligo uos opprimet, quae transibit per terram uestram atque doctrinam, ut cum decepti a uobis se in errore perspexerint, et sustinere famem ueritatis, tunc contristentur, siue irascantur; et maledicant uobis, quos quasi deos suos et reges putabant. Et frustra

has been abolished has to be kept. Let it be heard by the friends of the Ebionites who decreed that this has to be kept by Jews only and those of the race of Israel.

5,18-19

This is said to the leaders of the Jews who have been clearly shown above in their avarice and luxury because after having been invited by the Lord to do penitence and later by his apostles up to the present day they persevere in blasphemy and three times a day in all the synagogues they anathemize the Christian name under the name of Nazoraeans.

8,11-15

The Nazoraeans who accept Christ in such a way that they do not cease to observe the old Law, explain the two houses as the two families, viz. of Shammai and Hillel, from whom originated the Scribes and the Pharisees. Akiba who took over their school is called the master of Aquila the proselyte and after him came Meir who has been succeeded by Joannes the son of Zakkai and after him Eliezer and further Telphon, and next Ioseph Galilaeus and Josua up to the capture of Jerusalem. Shammai then and Hillel were born not long before the Lord, they originated in Judea. The name of the first means scatterer and of the second unholy, because he scattered and defiled the precepts of the Law by his traditions and *δευτερώσεις*. And these are the two houses who did not accept the Saviour who has become to them destruction and shame.

8,19-22

For the rest the Nazoraeans explain this passage in this way: When the Scribes and the Pharisees tell you to listen to them, men who do everything for love of the belly and who hiss during their incantations in the way of the magicians in order to deceive you, you must answer them like this. It is not strange if you follow your traditions since every tribe consults his own idols. We must not, therefore, consult your dead about the living ones. On the contrary God has given us the Law and the testimonies of the scriptures. If you are not be willing to follow them you shall not have light, and darkness will always oppress you. It will cover your earth and your doctrine so that, when they see that they have been deceived by you in error and they feel a longing for the

ad caelum terramque respiciant, cum semper in tenebris sint, et non possint de vestris auolare insidiis.

9,1 (LXXIII, p. 123-124)

Nazaraei, quorum opinionem supra posui, hunc locum ita explanare conantur: Adueniente Christo et praedicatione illius coruscante, prima terra Zabulon et terra Nephthali scribarum et pharisaeorum est erroribus liberata, et grauissimum traditionum Iudaicarum iugum excussit de ceruicibus suis. Postea autem per euangelium apostoli Pauli, qui nouissimus apostolorum omnium fuit, ingrauata est, id est multiplicata praedicatio; et in terminos gentium et uiam uniuersi maris Christi euangelium splenduit. Denique omnis orbis, qui ante ambulabat uel sedebat in tenebris et idololatriae ac mortis uinculis tenebatur, clarum euangelii lumen aspexit.

11,1-3 (LXXIII, p. 147-148)

Porro Nazaraei, quos LXX sanctificatos, Symmachus seperatos transtulerunt, per zain semper scribuntur elementum. Super hunc igitur florem, qui de trunco et de racide Iesse per Mariam uirginem repente consurget, requiescet spiritus Domini, quia in ipso complacuit omnem plenitudinem diuinitatis habitare corporaliter; nequaquam per partes, ut in ceteris sanctis, sed iuxta euangelium quod Hebraeo sermone conscriptum legunt Nazaraei: "Descendet super eum omnis fons spiritus sancti".

29,17-21 (LXXIII, p. 379-380)

Quae nos super diabolo et angelis eius intelleximus, Nazaraei contra scribas et pharisaeos dicta arbitrantur, quod defecerint *δευτερωταί*, qui prius illudebant populo traditionibus pessimis; et ad decipiendos simplices die noctuque uigilabant, qui peccare faciebant homines in Verbo Dei, ut Christum Dei Filium negarent.

31,6-9 (LXXIII, p. 404)

Nazaraei locum istum sic intellegunt: O filii Israel, qui consilio pessimo Dei filium denegastis, reuertimini ad eum et ad apostolos

truth, they will then be said or angry. And let them who believe themselves be to like their own gods and kings curse you. And let them look at the heaven and the earth in vain since they are always in darkness and they can not flee away from your ambushes.

9,1

The Nazoraeans whose opinion I have set forth above, try to explain this passage in the following way: When Christ came and his preaching shone out, the land of Zebulon and the land of Naphtali first of all were freed from the errors of the Scribes and the Pharisees and he shook off their shoulders the very heavy yoke of the Jewish traditions. Later, however, the preaching became more dominant, that means the preaching was multiplied, through the Gospel of the apostle Paul who was the last of all the apostles. And the Gospel of Christ shone to the most distant tribes and the way of the whole sea. Finally the whole world which earlier walked or sat in darkness and was imprisoned in the bonds of idolatry and death, has seen the clear light of the gospel.

11,1-3

Next the Nazoraeans, a name which the LXX translates by “sanctified” and Symmachus by “separated” is always written with the letter *zain*. Therefore on this flower which rose suddenly from the trunk and root of Iesse through Mary the virgin, the Spirit of God rested, because in him the whole fulness of the godhead took pleasure to dwell corporally; not as in the other holy ones moderately but according to the Gospel read by the Nazoraeans which was written in the Hebrew language: “The whole fountain of the Holy Spirit came upon him”.

29,17-21

What we understood to have been written about the devil and his angels, the Nazoraeans believe to have been said against the Scribes and the Pharisees, because the *δευτερωται* passed away, who earlier deceived the people with very vicious traditions. And they watch night and day to deceive the simple ones who made men sin against the Word of God in order that they should deny that Christ was the Son of God.

31,6-9

The Nazoraeans understand this passage in this way: O sons of Israel who deny the Son of God with a most vicious opinion, turn to

eius. Si enim hoc feceritis, omnia abicietis idola quae uobis prius fuerant in peccatum, et cadet uobis diabolus, non uestris uiribus, sed misericordia Dei. Et iuuenes eius qui quondam pro illo pugnauerant, erunt Ecclesiae uectigales, omnisque fortitudo et petra illius pertransibit; philosophi quoque et omne dogma peruersum ad crucis signum terga conuertent. Domini quippe sententia est, ut hoc fiat, cuius ignis siue lumen est in Sion et clibanus in Hierusalem.

40,9-11 (LXXIII, p. 459)

Sed et in euangelio quod iuxta Hebraeos scriptum Nazaraei lectitant, Dominus loquitur: "Modo me tulit mater mea, Spiritus Sanctus". Nemo autem in hac parte scandalizari debet, quod dicatur apud Hebraeos spiritus genere feminino, cum nostra lingua appelletur genere masculino, et Graeco sermone neutro.

49,7 (LXXIIIA, p. 538)

Pro eo quod nos diximus: "ad contemptibilem animam, ad abominatam gentem, ad seruum dominorum", Theodotio transtulit: "ei qui despicit animam, qui abominationi est genti, qui seruus est principum"; quod manifeste Christi personae conuenit. Ipse enim bonus pastor posuit animam suam pro ouibus suis, et contempsit eam, qui abominationi est genti Iudaeorum, cui ter per singulos dies sub nomine Nazarenorum maledicunt in synagogis suis. Qui seruus fuit principum, et tam humilis ut staret ante Annam et Caipham; et crucifigendus Pilato et Herodi mitteretur. Cui interpretationi Aquila consensit, et ex parte Septuaginta, licet in eo mutauerint sensum et extenuauerint, quod pro gente, gentes; et pro seruo, seruos interpretati sunt. Alii uero hoc dici arbitrantur ad gentem Iudaeorum, quae contempsit animam suam, et abominationi est universo mundo; ...

52,4-6 (LXXIIIA, p. 578)

Et sciendum quod, "in gentibus", non habeatur in Hebraeo, sed absolute: "nomen meum iugiter blasphematur", ut subaudiatur: in synagogis uestris, qui diebus ac noctibus blasphemant Saluatorem, et sub nomine, ut saepe dixi, Nazarenorum, ter in die in Christianos congerunt maledicta.

him and his apostles. For if you will do this, you will reject all idols which to you were a cause of sin in the past and the devil will fall before you, not because of your powers, but because of the compassion of God. And his young men who a certain time earlier fought for him, will be the tributaries of the Church and any of its power and stone will pass. Also the philosophers and every perverse dogma will turn their backs to the sign of the cross. Because this is the meaning of the Lord that his will take place, whose fire or light is in Sion and his oven in Jerusalem.

40,9-11

But in that Gospel written according to the Hebrews which is read by the Nazoraeans, the Lord says: "A moment ago my mother, the Holy Spirit, took me up". Nobody, however, must be scandalized because of this, because the Spirit is used in the feminine gender with the Hebrews while our language takes it in the masculine gender and the Greek in the neuter.

49,7

Instead of what we said: "to a contemptible soul, to an abominable tribe, to a slave of masters", Theodotion translated: "To him who despised his soul, who belongs to an abominable tribe, who is slave of the mighty", which obviously agrees with the person of Christ. For as a good shepherd he lay down his soul for his sheep and despised it, and became an abomination to the tribe of the Jews, for they curse him in their synagogues three times every day under the name of Nazoracans. He became the slave of the mighty and so humble that he stood before Annas and Caiphas and was sent away to be crucified by Pilate and Herod. With this interpretation Aquila agrees and partially the Septuagint albeit that they changed the sense and weakened it in this way that instead of tribe the word tribes and instead of slave the word slaves was translated. However, others are of the opinion that this was said to the tribe of the Jews who despised their souls and became an abomination to the whole world ...

52,4-6

And one must know that "among the Gentiles" is not in the Hebrew, but in short "my name is blasphemed continuously"; in order that they may be heard also: in your synagogues they utter curses against the Christians three times a day, as I have said, under the name of Nazoraeans, who night and day blaspheme the Saviour.

prol. 65 (LXXIIIA, p. 741)

Cum enim apostoli eum putarent spiritum, uel iuxta euangelium, quod Hebraeorum lectitant Nazaraei, incorporale daemonium, dixit eis: ... (Luke XXIV 38f) ...

66,20 (LXXIIIA, p. 792-793)

Iudaei et Iudaici erroris heredes Ebionitae, qui pro humilitate sensus nomen pauperum susceperunt, omnesque mille annorum delicias praestolantes, equos et quadrigas, et rhedas et lecticas, siue basternas, et dormitoria, mulosque et mulas, et carrucas, et diuersi generis uehicularum sic intellegunt, ut scripta sunt.

in Hiez., ed. Glorie, in: *CC* (Ser. Lat.) LXXV
410/415

16,13 (p. 178)

... in euangelio quoque quod Hebraeorum lectitant Nazaraei, Saluator inducitur loquens: "Modo me arripuit mater mea, Spiritus sanctus"...

16,16 (p. 182)

... tales sunt Nazaraei qui ueteris legis obseruantiam, euangelicae gratiae aptare conantur, et omnes haeretici qui testimonium in suo loco alteri sensui congruens, alteri nituntur assuere ...

18,5-9 (p. 237)

... et in euangelio quod iuxta Hebraeos Nazaraei legere consuerunt, inter maxima ponitur crimina: qui fratris sui spiritum contristauerit.

44,6-8 (p. 649)

Vrgent nos in hoc loco Iudaei et Ebionitae — qui circumcisionem carnis accipiunt —, quomodo possumus praesentem locum exponere: "Incircumcisos corde et incircumcisos carne" quo uidelicet post spiritalem intellegentiam etiam carnis circumcisionem suscipere debeamus;...

adv. Pelag., ed. *MPL* 23
415

III 2 (c. 597B-598A)

"Ex Evangelio iuxta Hebraeos". — In Evangelio "iuxta Hebraeos", quod Chaldaico quidem Syroque sermone, sed Hebraicis litteris script-

prol. 65

For since the apostles believed him to be a spirit according to the Gospel which is of the Hebrews and is read by the Nazoraeans, a demon without a body, he said to them ...

66,20

The Jews and the heirs of Jewish error, the Ebionites, who gave themselves the name of “poor ones” because of the lowness of their understanding, all of them expecting voluptuousness during a thousand years, horses and four in hands, coaches and palanquins or sedan chairs and bedrooms, mules, male and female, cars and vehicles of different kinds, understand it in the way it has been written.

in Hiez.

16,13

Also in the Gospel which is of the Hebrews and is read by the Nazoraeans, the Saviour is introduced saying: “A moment ago my mother, the Holy Spirit, took me up ...”.

16,16

... such are the Nazoraeans who try to connect the observance of the Law with evangelical grace and all heretics who exert themselves to connect a testimony that in its context agrees with one sense with another sense ...

18,5-9

... and in the Gospel which is according to the Hebrews which the Nazoraeans are accustomed to read, among the worst crimes is set: he who has distressed the spirit of his brother.

44,6-8

In this passage the Jews and the Ebionites — who accept the circumcision of the flesh — urge us to explain the present passage, as we can do: “those who are not circumcised of heart and those who are not circumcised of the flesh”, so that we obviously must accept after a spiritual understanding also the circumcision of the flesh.

adv. Pelag.

III 2

From the Gospel according to the Hebrews. In the Gospel according to the Hebrews which was written in the Chaldaic and Syriac language

tum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni, “secundum Apostolos”, sive, ut plerique autumant, “juxta Mattheum”, quod et in Caesariensi habetur bibliotheca, narrat historia: “Ecce mater Domini et fratres ejus dicebant ei: Joannes Baptisma baptizat in remissionem peccatorum: eamus et baptizemur ab eo. Dixit autem eis: Quid peccavi, ut vadam et baptizer ab eo? Nisi forte hoc ipsum quod dixi, ignorantia est”.

Et in eodem volumine: “Si peccaverit, inquit, frater tuus in verbo, et satis tibi fecerit, septies in die suscipe eum. Dixit illi Simon discipulus ejus: Septies in die? Respondit Dominus, et dixit ei: Etiam ego dico tibi, usque septuagies septies. Etenim in prophetis quoque postquam uncti sunt Spiritu sancto, inventus est sermo peccati”.

in Hier. ed. Reiter, in: *CC* (Ser Lat.) LXXIV
ca. 419

3,14-16 (p. 36)

Nequaquam in arca domini, quae custos fuit legis Mosaicae, habebunt fiduciam, sed ipsi erunt templum dei nec iuxta errantes Nazareos abolitis sacrificiis inseruient, sed spiritalem cultum sectabuntur.

CONSTITUTIONES APOSTOLORUM

ed. Funk
ca. 380

VI 6 6 (p. 315)

καὶ οἱ ἐφ' ἡμῶν νῦν φανέντες Ἐβριωναῖοι, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι βουλόμενοι, ἐξ ἡδονῆς ἀνδρὸς καὶ συμπλοκῆς Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας αὐτὸν γεννῶντες·

VI 8 1 (p. 317-318)

Ἦνίκα δὲ ἐξήλθομεν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν κηρύσσειν εἰς τὸν κόσμον τὸν λόγον τῆς ζωῆς, τότε ἐνήργησεν ὁ διάβολος εἰς τὸν λαόν, ἀποστεῖλαι ὀπίσω ἡμῶν ψευδαποστόλους εἰς βεβήλωσιν τοῦ λόγου· καὶ προέβαλοντο Κλεόβιον τινα καὶ παρέζευξαν τῷ Σίμωνι· οὗτοι δὲ μαθητεύουσιν Δοσιθέῳ τινί, ὃν καὶ παρευδοκιμήσαντες ἐξώσαντο τῆς ἀρχῆς· εἶτα καὶ ἕτεροι ἐτέρων κατήρξαν ἐκτόπων δογμάτων, Κήρινθος καὶ Μάρκος καὶ Μένανδρος καὶ Βασιλείδης καὶ Σατορνύλος.

but with Hebrew letters, and is used up to the present day by the Nazoraeans, I mean that according to the Apostles, or, as many maintain, according to Matthew, which Gospel is also available in the Library of Caesarea, the story runs: "see, the mother of the Lord and his brothers said to him: "John the Baptist baptizes for the remission of sins, let us go to be baptized by him". He said to them, however: "What did I sin that I should go and be baptized by him? Unless perhaps that which I said, is ignorance". And in the same volume: "If your brother", he said, "sinned to you with a word and makes amends, accept him seven times a day". Simon his disciple said to him: "Seven times a day?" The Lord answered and said to him: "And I say to you until seventy times seven. For even among the prophets after they were anointed with the Holy Spirit, there were words of sin".

in Hier.

3,14-16

They shall not have confidence in the ark of the Lord which was the guardian of the Mosaic Law, for they themselves will be a temple of God and not according to the erring Nazoraeans serving the sacrifices which have been abolished, but aiming at a spiritual worship.

CONSTITUTIONES APOSTOLORUM

VI 6 6

And the Ebionites who appear to us now assert that the Son of God is mere a man; they generate him out of human lust and intercourse of Joseph and Mary.

VI 8 1

At the time when we went out among the Gentiles to preach to the world the word of life, the devil worked upon the people by sending false apostles behind us to profane the word. And they sent a certain Cleobus and united themselves with Simon and they taught a certain Dositheus whom they also surpassed in fame and casted out of the first place. Next also others started with other strange dogmas, Cerinthus, Marcus, Menander, Basilides and Satornilus.

PACIANUS BARCELONENSIS

epist., ed. Fernández, in: *CCB*

† ca. 385

I.I 2-3 (p. 48)

Nam ut Iudaeorum haereticos praetermittam, Dosytheum Samaritanum, Sadducaeos, et Pharisaeos, quanti apostolorum temporibus emerterint, dinuminare perlongum est: Simon Magus, et Menander, et Nicolaus, et ceteri quos fama recondit obscura. Quid posterioribus temporibus Ebion, et Apelles, et Marcion, et Valentinus et Cerdon, nec longe post eos Cataphryges, et Nouatiani, ut examina nouella praeteream?

FILASTER

div. her. liber, ed. Marx, in: *CSEL* 38

383/391

XXXVI (p. 19-20)

Cerinthus successit huius (scil. Carpocras) errori et similitudini uanitatis, docens de generatione itidem saluatoris deque creatura angelorum, in nullo discordans ab eo, nisi quia ex parte solum legi consentit, quod a deo data sit, et ipsum deum Iudaeorum esse aestimat qui legem dedit filiis Israhel. Docet autem circumcidi et sabbatizari, et Christum nondum surrexisse a mortuis, sed resurrecturum adnuntiat. Apostolum Paulum beatum non accipit, Iudam traditorem honorat, et euangelium secundum Matheum solum accipit, tria euangelia spernit, Actus Apostolorum abicit, beatos martyres blasphematur. His sub apostolis beatis quaestionem seditionis commouit, dicens debere circumcidi homines, cuius causa contra illum et heresim eius decreuerunt in suis Actibus beati apostoli sententiam: non debere iam homines Iudaismo, id est circumcisionis aliisque talibus superstitionis uanae parere carnalibus, qui de gentibus uenientes credebant in Christum dominum nostrum saluatorem.

XXXVII (p. 20)

Hebion discipulus eius Cerinthi, in multis ei similiter errans saluatorem nostrum hominem de Ioseph natum carnaliter aestimabat, nihilque

PACIANUS BARCELONENSIS

epist.

I 1

For — not to mention the Jewish heretics: Dosytheus the Samaritan, the Sadducees and the Pharisees — it takes too long to list all the heretics who emerged in the apostolic times: Simon Magus, Menander, Nicolaus and the others hidden by an obscure fame. And only referring to the fresh hordes, what shall I say about those of later times: Ebion, Apelles, Marcion, Valentinus and Cerdon, with those who lived not long after these the Cataphrygians and Novatianians?

FILASTER

div. her. liber

XXXVI

Cerinthus repeated his error and the same futility, teaching in the same way about the birth of the Saviour and about the creation by angels. He does not differ from him in anything, apart from the fact that he only partially agrees with the Law having been given by God. He supposes that it was the God of the Jews himself who gave the Law to the children of Israel. He teaches, however, that one has to be circumcised and that the Sabbath has to be kept and he preaches that Christ has not yet risen from the dead but will rise. He does not accept the blessed apostle Paul, he honours Judas the traitor and he accepts the Gospel according to Matthew only; he repudiates three gospels, rejects the Acts of the Apostles and blasphemes the blessed martyrs. He started as seditious dispute among the blessed apostles, saying that men have to be circumcised. For this reason the blessed apostles issued a decree in their Acts against him and his heresy saying that people who come from the Gentiles and believe in Christ our Lord the Saviour are not obliged to obey Judaism, which means circumcision and similar carnal matters of vain superstition.

XXXVII

Hebion, pupil of this Cerinthus, erring in many respects similarly supposed that our Saviour was a man born in a carnal way of Joseph

diuinitatis in eo fuisse docebat, sed sicut omnes prophetas, sic et eum gratiam dei habuisse adserebat, non tamen deum maiestatis et dei patris filium cum patre sempiternum esse credebat, cum diuinæ scripturae deum sempiternum cum patre uero ac sempiterno ubique testantur ac praedicant.

LX (p. 31-32)

Alii post hos sunt heretici qui euangelium cata Iohannem et Apocalypsin ipsius non accipiunt, et cum non intellegunt uirtutem scripturae nec desiderant discere, in heresi permanent pereuntes, ut etiam Cerinthis illius heretici esse audeant dicere et Apocalypsin ipsius itidem non beati Iohannis euangelistae et apostoli, sed Cerinthis heretici, qui tunc ab apostolis beatis hereticus manifestus abiectus est ab ecclesia.

LXIII (p. 33)

Symmachiani alii discipuli istius (scil. Patricius) eadem sentientes in omnibus, non sperantes iudicium, uitiiis saecularibus et carnalibus concupiscentiis praedicant seruendum.

MARIUS VICTORINUS

in ep. ad Gal., ed. *MPL* 8

2nd half 4th cent.

1,15 (c. 1155B)

“Alium autem apostolorum neminem vidi, nisi Jacobum fratrem Domini”.¹ Magna doctrina etiam hoc adjunxit magnoque ingenio: primo quod ita dixit, apostolorum neminem alium vidi: nam Jacobum apostolum Symmachiani faciunt quasi duodecimum: et hunc sequuntur qui ad dominum nostrum Jesum Christum adjungunt iudaismi observantiam: quanquam etiam Jesum Christum fatentur: dicunt enim eum ipsum Adam esse, et esse animam generalem, et alia huiusmodi blasphema.

4,12 (c. 1162D-1163A)

Jacobus enim frater Domini, qui auctor est ad Symmachianos, primus apud Hierosolimam sibi hoc adsumendum putavit, uti et

¹ Gal. 1,19.

and he taught that nothing divine was in Him, but he maintained that like all prophets also he has had the grace of God. But he did not believe that he was the God of majesty and the Son of God the Father and that he was with God eternally, while the holy scriptures testify and preach everywhere that he was eternal God with the true and eternal Father.

LX

Other heretics after these were those who do not accept the Gospel according to John and his Apocalypse. And because they do not understand the power of the scriptures and do not wish to be taught they persist in their heresy and go under, so that they even dare to say that these writings are by Cerinthus, that heretic and that the Apocalypse is not by the blessed John the evangelist and apostle himself but by Cerinthus the heretic who in the past was rejected from the Church by the blessed apostles as being an obvious heretic.

LXII

The Symmachians are other pupils of his and they hold in every respect the same opinion since they do not expect a judgment and they preach that one has to enjoy wordly dissipations and carnal lusts.

MARIUS VICTORINUS

in ep. ad Gal.

1,15

“For of the apostles I saw nobody else but James the brother of the Lord”. This he connected with a great doctrine and a great ingenuity. In the first place because he said it in this way: I have seen nobody else of the apostles, for the Symmachians make James an apostle like the twelve and those who connect a Jewish observance with our Lord Jesus Christ follow him although they also confess Jesus Christ. For they say that he is Adam and a general soul and other blasphemies of a similar kind.

4,12

For James, the brother of the Lord, who became the occasion of the origin of the Symmachians, was the first in Jerusalem who believed

Christum praedicaret, et viveret ut Judaei, omnia faciens quae Judaeorum lex praecipit, id est quae sibi Judaei observanda intellexerunt.

PSEUDO-IGNATIUS

epist. ad Philad. (long recension), ed. Lightfoot, in: *Apost. Fath.* II II 4th cent.

VI (p. 796)

ἐάν τις λέγῃ μὲν ἓνα θεον, ὁμολογεῖ δὲ καὶ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, φιλὸν δὲ ἀνθρωπον εἶναι νομίζῃ τὸν Κύριον, οὐχὶ θεὸν μονογενῆ καὶ σοφίαν καὶ λόγον θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος αὐτὸν εἶναι νομίζῃ, ὁ τοιοῦτος ὄφεις ἐστὶν ἀπάτην καὶ πλάνην κηρύττων ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ ἀνθρώπων· καὶ ἔστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος πένης τὴν διάνοιαν, ὡς ἐπὶ κλήν Ἐβίων.

MONARCHIAN PROLOGUES

ed. Corssen, in: *Texte u. Unters.* 15.1

4th/5th cent.

p. 80

Interfecto autem Domitiano cum resolutus exilio Ephesum redisset et iam tunc haereticorum semina pullulassent, Cerinthi, Ebionis et ceterorum qui negant Christum ante Mariam fuisse, compulsus est ab omnibus paene tunc Asiae episcopis et multarum ecclesiarum legationibus de divinitate Christi altius scribere.

PSEUDO-HIERONYMUS

indic. de haer., ed. Oehler, in: *Corp. Haer.* I

ca. 400

X (p. 290-291)

Carpocrates, Cerinthus et Ebion, hi tres sibi successerunt, dicentes omnia secundum legem, circumcidi, observare sabbatum et dies festos Iudaicos; Christus enim haec cum omnia observavit, sufficere dicentes ita esse ut doctorem, ut magistrum. Christum autem negant per spiritum sanctum a Maria virgine natum, sed a Ioseph conceptum ut hominem nuptiali coitu; habuisse autem illud spiritum prophetalem, et venturum ac iudicaturum vivos et mortuos.

that he had to accept this, so that he both preached Christ and lived like the Jews, doing everything which the Law of the Jews prescribes, which means what the Jews understood that they had to observe.

PSEUDO IGNATIUS

epist. ad Philad.

VI

... if somebody says that there is one God and also confesses Christ Jesus, but believes that the Lord was a mere man and not the only-begotten God, Wisdom and the Word of God, but believes that he is both soul and body, such a person is a serpent preaching deceit and error with a view to the perdition of the people. And such a person is poor of understanding, as Ebion is called.

MONARCHIAN PROLOGUES

When, however, after the death of Domition, he was set free and returned from his exile to Ephesus and the seeds of the heretics had already budded forth at that time, of Cerinthus, Ebion, and others who deny that Christ existed before Mary, he was urged by almost all the bishops at that time in Asia and embassies from many churches to write about the divinity of Christ in a more profound way.

PSEUDO HIERONYMUS

indic. de haer.

X

Carpocrates, Cerinthus and Ebion succeeded each other, saying that one has to live totally according to the law, that one has to be circumcised and that one has to observe the Sabbath and the Jewish festival days. For since Christ observed all this they say that it is sufficient to be like the doctor or the master. They deny that Christ was born through the Holy Spirit of Mary the virgin but say that he was conceived by Joseph as man in matrimonial intercourse. He, however, they said, had a prophetic spirit and that he was to return and judge the quick and the dead.

XXXVI (p. 297)

Photinus ex Gallograecia, Marcelli discipulus, Sirmii episcopus fuit. Hic Ebionis haeresim restaurare conatus est, quae dicit Christum a Maria per Ioseph nuptiali coitu fuisse conceptum.

AUGUSTINE

de baptismo, ed. Petschenig, in: *CSEL* 51
ca. 400

VII 1 1 (p. 342)

... sicut illi, qui se christianos Nazarenos uocant et more Iudaico carnalia praepudia circumcidunt, nati haeretici ex illo errore, in quem Petrus deuians a Paulo reuocatus est, in hoc adhuc usque persistunt.

contra Faustum, ed. Zycha, in: *CSEL* 25
ca. 400

XIX 4 (p. 500)

Et tamen hoc si mihi Nazaraeorum obiceret quisquam, quos alii Symmachianos appellant, quod enim Iesus dixerit non se uenisse soluere legem, aliquantisper haesisse incertus, quid ei responderem. nec inmerito; ueniebat enim corpore atque animo simul lege obsitus ac prophetis. nam huiusmodi, quos aio, et circumcisionem portant et obseruant sabbatum et porcina ac reliquis abstinent huiusmodi, quae praecepit lex, sub christiani quamuis nominis professione decepti etiam ipsi, ut intellegi datur, hoc ipso capitulo, duo et tu, quia Christus non ad soluendam legem se uenisse dixerit, sed ad inplendam an et tu iam de truncatorum inguinum obscaeno illo signaluco gloriaris, tamquam Iudaeus aut Nazaraeus? an supercilium de obseruatione erigis sabbatorum? an de porcinae abstinentia tibi conscius gaudes?

XIX 17 (p. 516)

hoc igitur temperamentum moderamentumque spiritus sancti per apostolos operantis cum displicuisset quibusdam ex circumcisione credentibus, qui haec non intellegebant, in ea peruersitate manserunt, ut et gentes cogerent iudaizare. hi sunt, quos Faustus Symmachianorum uel Nazaraeorum nomine commorauit, qui usque ad nostra tempora iam quidem in exigua, sed adhuc tamen uel in ipsa paucitate perdurant.

XXXVI

Photinus was from Gallograecia, a pupil of Marcellus, bishop of Sirmium. He tried to renew the heresy of Ebion which said that Christ was conceived through Joseph by Mary in matrimonial intercourse.

AUGUSTINE

de baptismo

VII 1 1

... just as they persist to the present day who call themselves Nazorene christians and circumcise the carnal foreskins in a Jewish way, are born heretics in that error into which Peter drifted and from which he was been called back by Paul.

contra Faustum

XIX 4

If one of the Nazoraeans whom others call Symmachians was arguing with me from these words of Jesus that he came not to destroy the Law, being uncertain, I should have some difficulty for a while as to what to answer him, and not without reason, for at his coming Jesus was both in body and mind subject to the influence of the Law and the Prophets. Those people moreover, whom I allude to, are circumcised and keep the Sabbath and abstain from swine's meat and other similar things which the Law prescribes, although they profess to be Christians. But they are obviously misled, as well as you, as appears from this very verse in which Christ says that he came not to destroy the Law but to fulfill it ... Do you too, like a Jew or a Nazorean, glory in the obscene distinction of being castrated? Do you pride yourself in the observance of the Sabbath? Can you congratulate yourself on being conscientious regarding the abstinence of swine's meat?

XIX 7

Some believers in circumcision who did not understand this verse were displeased with this tolerant and moderate arrangement which the Holy Spirit effected through the apostles and stubbornly insisted on the Gentiles becoming Jews. These are the people of whom Faustus speaks under the name Symmachians or Nazoraeans.

They exist until the present day or, at least, until recently, anyway as always with the same small number.

contra Cresconium, ed. Petschenig, in: *CSEL* 52
ca. 406

I 31,36 (p. 355-356)

et nunc sunt quidam haeretici qui se Nazarenos uocant, a nonnullis autem Symmachiani appellantur et circumcisionem habent Iudaeorum et baptismum christianorum; ...

epist., ed. Hilberg, in: *CSEL* 55
after 404

CXVI 16 (*Augustinus ad Hieronymum*), (p. 407)

An uis, ut etiam ego dicam hanc esse summam quaestionis, immo sententiae tuae, ut post euangelium Christi bene faciant credentes Iudaei, si sacrificia offerant, quae obtulit Paulius, si filios circumcidant, si sabbatum obseruent, ut Paulus in Timotheo et omnes obseruauere Iudaei, dum modo haec simulate ac fallaciter agant? hoc si ita est, non iam in heresin Hebionis uel eorum, quos uulgo Nazaraeos nuncupant, uel quamlibet aliam ueterem, sed in nescio quam nouam delabimur, quae sit eo perniciosior, quo non errore, sed proposito est ac uoluntate fallaci.

de haer., ed. Müller, *Patristic Studies* XC
ca. 428

8 (p. 68)

Cerinthiani a Cerintho iidemque Merinthiani a Merintho, mundum ab angelis factum esse dicentes, et carne circumcidi oportere, atque alia huiusmodi Legis praecepta seruari; Iesum hominem tantummodo fuisse, nec resurrexisse, sed resurrecturum asseverantes. Mille quoque annos post resurrectionem in terreno regno Christi, secundum carnales ventris et libidinis uoluptates, futuros fabulantur, unde etiam Chiliastae sunt appellati.

9 (p. 68)

Nazaraei, cum Dei Filium confiteantur esse Christum, omnia tamen Veteris Legis observant, quae Christiani per apostolicam traditionem non observare carnaliter, sed spiritaliter intelligere didicerunt.

10 (p. 68)

Ebionaei Christum etiam ipsi tantummodo hominem dicunt. Man-

contra Cresconium

I 31,36

And now, certain heretics exist who call themselves Nazoraeans, who, however, by some people are named Symmachians and who practice the circumcision of the Jews and the baptism of the Christians ...

epist.

CXVI 16 1

Or do you also want me to say that this is the chief point of the question, namely of your opinion that the Jews who believe after the coming of the Gospel of Christ do well if they offer the sacrifices which Paul, offered, if they circumcise their children, if they observe the Sabbath as Paul did with Timothy and all the Jews, provided they did it while simulating and falsely? If it is like this, we shall not fall away into the heresy of Ebion or of those who usually are called Nazoraeans or any other ancient heresy but into some new one of which I do not know the name but which is the more pernicious because it is not because an error but intentional and also because of a deceitful will.

de haer.

8

The Cerinthians from Cerinthus, the same ones as the Merinthians from Merinthus say that the world was made by angels and that the flesh must be circumcised and that other similar precepts of the Law have to be kept. They say that Jesus was only a man and that he did not rise from the dead, but they expect the resurrection. They also fable that for a thousand years after the resurrection there will be an earthly kingdom of Christ which offers carnal pleasures of the belly and lust. Therefore they are also called chiliasts.

9

Although the Nazoraeans confess that the son of God is Christ, they nevertheless observe everything of the old Law which Christians learned by the apostolic tradition not to observe carnally but to understand this spiritually.

10

The Ebionites also say that Christ is only a man. They observe

data carnalia Legis observant, circumcisionem scilicet carnis, et cetera a quorum oneribus per novum testamentum liberati sumus. Huic haeresi Epiphanius Sampsaeos et Elcesaeos ita copulat ut sub eodem numero tamquam una sit haeresis ponat, aliquid tamen interesse significans. Quamvis et in consequentibus loquatur de illis, ponens eos sub numero suo. Eusebius vero Elcesaitarum sectam commemorans fidem in persecutione dicit negandam docuisse et in corde servandam.

32 (p. 78)

Elcesaeos et Sampsaeos hic tamquam ordine suo commemorat Epiphanius, quos dicit a quodam pseudopropheta esse deceptos qui vocabatur Elci, ex cuius genere dua mulieres tamquam deas ab eis perhibet adoratas. Cetera Ebionaeis tenere similia.

RUFINUS

expos. symb., ed. Simonetti, in: *CC* (Ser. Lat.) XX
ca. 404

37 (p. 172)

Multi enim et alii ecclesias congregarunt, ut Marcion ut Valentinus ut Ebion ut Manichaeus et ceteri omnes haeretici
..... Concilium uanitatis est quod Ebion docet, ita Christo credi debere, ut circumcisio carnis et observatio sabbati et sacrificiorum solemnitas ceteraeque omnes observantiae secundum legis litteram teneantur.

CASSIANUS

de incarn. dom. c. Nest., ed. Petschenig, in: *CSEL* 17
ca. 425

I 2 (p. 237-238)

Non noua enim sunt haec in ecclesiis monstrosi seminis germina. semper has dominici agri seges lappas sentesque tolerauit et assiduum in ea suffocatricis zizaniae germen emersit. hinc enim Hebionitae, hinc Sabelliani, hinc Arriani, hinc denique Eunomiani ... quorum primus Hebion, dum incarnationem dominicam nimis asserit, diuinitatis eam coniunctione nudauit.

the carnal mandates of the Law, viz. the circumcision of the flesh, and the other things from the burden of which we are liberated by the New Testament. Epiphanius connected the Sampsaean and the Elkesaites with this heresy in such a way that he put them under the same heading as if it were one heresy although making clear that there is some difference. Though he also speaks about them later putting them under their own heading. Eusebius, however, mentioning the sect of the Elkesaites said that they taught that their faith must be denied during persecution but to be kept in their heart.

32

Epiphanius mentions the Elkesaites and Sampsaean at this place according to this order. He says that they were deceived by a certain pseudo-prophet who was called Elci. He says that of his family two women are honoured like goddesses by them. For the rest they keep similar things as the Ebionites.

RUFINUS

expos. symb.

37

For many others also have set up churches like Marcion, Valentinus, Ebion and Manichaeus, Arius and all the other heretics.

Ebion teaches a futile opinion because he says us to believe in Christ but also to keep the circumcision of the flesh, the observation of the Sabbath, the custom of the sacrifices and all the other ordinances according to the letter of the Law.

CASSIANUS

de incarn. dom. c. Nest.

I 2

For these germs of the monstrous seed in the churches are not new. Often the harvest of the field of the Lord endured burdock and thorn-bushes and continuously the seed of the suffocating dandel sprang up. Here the Ebionites, there the Sabellians, here the Arrians, there the Eunomians ... of whom the first is Hebion who, although he maintained the incarnation of the Lord, stripped it of its connection with the divinity.

I 2 (p. 238-239)

nuper quoque, id est in diebus nostris, emersisse haeresim uenenosam ex maxima Belgarum urbe conspeximus, certi erroris, incerti nominis, quia, cum recenti capite ex antiqua Hebionitarum stirpe surrexerit ... solitarium quippe hominem dominum nostrum Iesum Christum natum esse blasphemans ...

III 5 (p. 265-266)

“Sed per Iesum Christum et deum patrem qui suscitauit eum a mortuis”.¹ ... excludens utique et phantasma Marcionis incarnatione uera et paupertatem Hebionis diuinitate perfecta ...

V 10 (p. 318)

Manichaeos extra ecclesiam est, quia Iesum deum tantum fuisse asserit, Hebion, quia hominem.

PRAEDESTINATUS

ed. Oehler, in: *Corp. Haer.* I
ca. 435

I 8 (p. 235)

Octava haeresis Cerinthianorum, a Cerintho. Dicebant mundum ab angelis factum, carne circumcidi debere, veteris testamenti secundum litteram debere praecepta seruari. Iesum hominem tantummodo fuisse; nec resurrexisse, sed adhuc resurrecturum esse memorabant. Hos in Galatia aeterno anathemate beatus apostolus Paulus condemnauit. Hos denique tangit in sua epistola quam ad Galatas misit.

I 9 (p. 235)

Nona haeresis Nazarenorum, Filium quidem dei confitentur, omnem autem ritum veteris testamenti Iudaico more conservant. Hos docuit beatus apostolus Paulus debere spiritualiter scripturas advertere, et hos in ecclesiis Galatiae deprehendit, atque non consentientes doctrinae suae anathemati esse constituit.

I 10 (p. 235)

Decima haeresis Ebionaei. Hominem solum fuisse dominum Iesum Christum adserunt, et legis mandata more Iudaico custodienda consti-

¹ Gal. I, 1.

Recently, which means in our own days, we also saw that in a very large city of the Belgians there arosed a poisonous heresy. We are certain of the error, uncertain with regard to the name, because it came to light with a new head from the old stem of the Ebionites ... blasphemously asserting that our Lord Jesus Christ was born only as a man ...

III 5

“But through Jesus Christ and God the Father who raised him from the dead ...” refuting therefore the phantasy of Marcion with a veritable incarnation and the poverty of Ebion with a perfect divinity ...

V 10

Manichaeus is outside the Church because he maintained that Jesus was only God, Hebion because he maintained that he was only man.

PRAEDESTINATUS

I 8

The eighth heresy is of the Cerinthians, from Cerinthus. They said the world had been made by angels, that the flesh must be circumcised and that the commandments of the Old Testament must be kept, according to the letter. Jesus was only man. He did not rise but they said that he will yet rise. The blessed apostle Paul condemned them with an eternal condemnation in Galatia. He finally alluded to them in his letter which he sent so the Galatians.

I 9

The ninth heresy is of the Nazoraeans. They confess the Son of God, but they keep every rule of the Old Testament in the Jewish fashion. The blessed apostle Paul taught them that they had to focus their attention on the Scriptures in a spiritual way and he discovered them in the Churches of Galatia. And he decided, because they did not agree with his doctrine, that they were to be anathematized.

I 10

The tenth heresy is that of the Ebionites. They maintain that the Lord Jesus Christ was only a man and they declared that the command-

tuunt. Hos Lucas evangelista apud Antiochenam ecclesiam inveniens condemnavit, docens angelum dixisse ad Mariam (Luke 1,35).....

I 32 (p. 243)

Tricesima et secunda haeresis Helceseorum. Hos quidam Helchi nomine pseudopropheta decepit, ex cuius genere duas mulieres tanquam deas ab eis perhibetur adoratas. Cetera Hebioneis similia tenere ab Epiphanio adseruntur. Hos Papias presbyter Achaiae obtinuit.

MARIUS MERCATOR

app. ad contradic. XII anath. Nest., MPL 48

1st half 5th cent.

13 (c. 927B-928A)

Ibi namque inter Samosatenum Paulum et Photinum, magistros suos (purgare se studens, tamquam ab eorum doctrina alienus), differentia quae sit molitus ostendere est, atque ita ait: "Paulum quidem in eo quod dicit Christum hominem solum, et tunc initium habere, ex quo de Virgine natus est", etc. Quod totum impietatis malum Photini ab Ebione magis stoico philosopho tractum est.

14-15 (c. 928A/B)

14. Hic tempore adhuc Joannis apostoli intra Asiam exstitit, et Christum hominem communem ex Joseph et Maria natum, et eum vitae merito omne humanum genus praevisse, proque hoc in Dei Filium adoptatum, ausus est praedicare, asserens se Matthaei, Marci et Lucae evangelistarum auctoritatem secutum. Quo tempore Joannes apostolus contra hunc condidit evangelium, quo praefatus ait, "in principio esse Verbum, et Verbum esse apud Patrem, et Deum esse verbum".¹ Postquam praefationem subdescendens, ut ostenderet quem illi tres Evangelistae hominem scripserant, esse etiam Deum ait: "Quod factum est, in illo vita est".² Et post pauca: "Et Verbum caro factum est".³

15. Hunc itaque Ebionem philosophum secutus Marcellus Galata est; Photinus quoque, et ultimis temporibus Sardicensis Bonosus, qui a Damaso urbis Romae episcopo praedamnatus est.

¹ John 1,1.

² John 1,4.

³ John 1,4.

ments of the Law have to be kept in the Jewish fashion. Luke the evangelist condemned them when he found them in the Antiochian Church, learning that an angel said to Mary ...

I 32

The thirty-second heresy is that of the Elkesaites. A man with the name Elxai, a pseudo-prophet has deceived them. It is said that of his family two women have been honoured as goddesses. Epiphanius said that they observed other things, like the Ebionites. Papias the presbyter of Greece had them in his diocese.

MARIUS MERCATOR

app. ad contradic. XII anath. Nest.

13

For here is a difference between Paul of Samosata and Photinus, his masters, (trying to free himself as if he has nothing to do with their doctrines) which he takes pain to show. And he says: "Paul in so far as he says that Christ is a mere man and began from the moment he was born from the virgin, etc.". Because the whole wickedness of Photinus' impiety was more due to Ebion, a Stoic philosopher.

14-15

At the time of John the apostle he lived in Asia, and he dared to preach that Christ was an ordinary man born of Joseph and Mary and that he excelled all the human race because of his meritorious life and that for this reason he had been adopted as the son of God, while he maintained that he followed the authority of the evangelists Matthew, Mark and Luke. At that time John the apostle composed a Gospel against him which starts with the words "In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with the Father and the Word was God". In order to show about what kind of man the three evangelists wrote, he next said after the preface that he was also God: "All that has been made had life in him". And somewhat later: "And the word became flesh". Therefore Marcellus of Galatia followed this Ebion the philosopher. Also Photinus and very recently the Sardinian Bonosus, who has been condemned by Damasus the bishop of the city of Rome.

THEODORET OF CYR

eccl. hist., ed. Parmentier-Schiedweiler, in: *GCS*
ca. 447

I 4 35 (p. 17-18)

Πολλὰ λέγειν ἔχων, ἀγαπητοί, παρέρχομαι, φορτικὸν εἶναι νομίσας διὰ πλειόνων διδασκάλους ὁμόφρονas ὑπομινῆσκειν. αὐτοὶ γὰρ ὑμεῖς θεοδίδακτοί ἐστε, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι ἡ ἔναγχος ἐπαναστάσα τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ εὐσεβείᾳ διδασκαλία Ἐβίωνος ἐστι καὶ Ἀρτεμᾶ, καὶ ζῆλος τοῦ κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν Παύλου τοῦ Σαμοσατέως, συνόδῳ καὶ κρίσει τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ ἐπισκόπων ἀποκηρυχθέντος τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ...

V 11 3 (p. 298)

Ἀναθεματίζομεν Φωτεινόν, ὃς τὴν τοῦ Ἐβίωνος αἵρεσιν ἀνακαινίζων τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν μόνον ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας ὠμολόγει.

haer. fab., ed. MPG 83
ca. 453

prol. (c. 337D)

Ταύτης δὲ τῆς αἵρέσεως ἦρξε μὲν Ἐβίων, μέχρι δὲ Μαρκέλλου καὶ Φωτεινοῦ τὰς διαφόρους ἐπινοίας ἐδέξατο.

prol. lib. II (c. 384C)

Καὶ Κήρινθον δὲ φασιν, Ἰωάννου τοῦ πανευφήμου τοῦ τὸ θεῖον συγγράψαντος Εὐαγγέλιον ἔτι περιόντος, τὰ τῆς οἰκείας αἵρέσεως παρασπεῖραι ζιζάνια.

II 1 (c. 388B-389A)

Ταυτησί δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος ἦρξεν Ἐβίων, τὸν πτωχὸν δὲ οὕτως Ἑβραῖοι προσαγορεύουσιν. Οὗτος ἔνα μὲν τὸν ἀγέννητον ἔφη παραπλησίως ἡμῖν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἔδειξεν εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου δημιουργόν· τὸν δὲ Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐξ Ἰωσήφ καὶ τῆς Μαρίας φησε γεγενῆσθαι, ἄνθρωπον μὲν ὄντα, ἀρετῇ δὲ καὶ καθαρότητι τῶν ἄλλων διαφέροντα· κατὰ δὲ τὸν Μωσαϊκὸν πολιτεύονται νόμον. Μόνον δὲ τὸ κατὰ Ἑβραίους Εὐαγγέλιον δέχονται, τὸν δὲ Ἀπόστολον ἀποστάτην καλοῦσι. Ἐκ τούτων ἦν Σύμμαχος, ὁ τὴν παλαιὰν Γραφὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραίων μετατεθεικῶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνήν. Ἄλλη δὲ παρὰ ταύτην συμμορία, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχουσα· Ἐβιωνεῖς γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι προσαγορεύονται· τὰ ἄλλα μὲν ἅπαντα συνομολογεῖ τοῖς προτέροις, τὸν δὲ Σωτῆρα καὶ

THEODORET OF CYR

eccl. hist.

I 4 35

I have many things to say, beloved, but because I believe I cause weariness by further admonishing teachers who are of one mind with myself, I pass them by. You, having been taught of God, are not ignorant that the teaching against the religion of the Church, which has just arisen, is the same as that of Ebion and Artemas, and that it is the zeal of Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, who was excommunicated by a council and judgment of all the bishops.

V 11 3

We anathematize Photinus who, renewing the heresy of Ebion, confessed that our Lord Jesus Christ was only born of Mary.

*haer. fab.**prol.*

Ebion started this heresy and up to Marcellus and Photinus his remarkable opinions were accepted.

prol. lib. II

And they say that Cerinthus sowed the darnel of his own heresy at the time that the praiseworthy John was still living and had written his divine gospel.

II 1

Of this group Ebion is the first, for thus the Hebrews call the "poor one". He said that there is one Unborn, similar to what we say, and he announces that he is the Creator of the world. But he said that the Lord Jesus Christ was born of Joseph and Mary, but as man excelled all others in virtue and purity. They live according to the Mosaic Law. They accept the Gospel of the Hebrews only. The apostle Paul they call an apostate. To them belonged Symmachus who translated the old Scripture from the Hebrew into the Greek language. Apart from this is another group with the same name because they also are called Ebionites. In all other things they agree with these mentioned above but they say that the Saviour and Lord was born of a virgin. They

Κύριον ἐκ Παρθένου γεγεννησθαι φησιν. Εὐαγγελίῳ δὲ τῷ κατὰ Ματθαῖον κέχρηται μόνῳ, καὶ τὸ μὲν Σάββατον κατὰ τὸν Ἰουδαίων τιμῶσι νόμον, τὴν δὲ Κυριακὴν καθιεροῦσι παραπλησίως ἡμῖν.

II 2 (c. 389A)

Οἱ δὲ Ναζωραῖοι Ἰουδαῖοί εἰσι, τὸν Χριστὸν τιμῶντες ὡς ἄνθρωπον δίκαιον, καὶ τῷ καλουμένῳ κατὰ Πέτρον Εὐαγγελίῳ κεχηρμένοι. Ταύτας συστήναι τὰς αἱρέσεις Δομετιανοῦ βασιλεύοντος ὁ Εὐσέβιος εἴρηκε. Κατὰ τούτων συνέγραψεν Ἰουστίνος ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ μάρτυς, καὶ Εἰρηναῖος ὁ τῶν ἀποστόλων διάδοχος, καὶ Ὡριγένης.

II 3 (c. 389A/C)

Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ Κήρινθος ἐτέρας ἦρξεν αἱρέσεως. Οὗτος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πλείστον διατρίψας χρόνον, καὶ τὰς φιλοσόφους παιδευθεὶς ἐπιστήμας, ὕστερον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους μαθητὰς ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας προσηγορίας ὠνόμασιν. Ἐδίδαξε δὲ οὗτος, ἕνα μὲν εἶναι τὸν τῶν ὄλων Θεόν, οὐκ αὐτὸν δὲ εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου δημιουργόν, ἀλλὰ δυνάμεις τινὰς κεχωρισμένας, καὶ παντελῶς αὐτὸν ἀγνοοῦσας. Τὸν Ἰησοῦν δὲ, τοῖς Ἑβραίοις παραπλησίως, ἔφησε κατὰ φύσιν ἕξ ἀνδρὸς γεγεννησθαι καὶ γυναικὸς, τοῦ Ἰωσήφ καὶ τῆς Μαρίας, σωφροσύνη δὲ, καὶ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς διαπρέψαι. Τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν ἐν εἵδει περιστερᾶς ἄνωθεν εἰς αὐτὸν κατελθεῖν, καὶ τηνικαῦτα τὸν ἀγνοούμενον κηρύξαι Θεόν, καὶ τὰς ἀναγράφτους ἐπιτελέσαι θαυματουργίας. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν τοῦ πάθους καιρὸν, ἀποστήναι μὲν τὸν Χριστὸν, τὸ δὲ πάθος ὑπομεῖναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν. Οὗτος καὶ ἀποκαλύψει τινὰς ὡς αὐτὸς τεθεαμένος ἐπλάσατο, καὶ ἀπειλῶν τινων διδασκαλίας συνέθηκε, καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν βασιλείαν ἔφησεν ἐπίγειον ἔσεσθαι· καὶ βρῶσιν καὶ πόσιν ὠνειροπόλησε, καὶ φιληδονίας ἐφαντάσθη, καὶ γάμους, καὶ θυσίας, καὶ ἑορτὰς, ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τελουμένας, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπὶ χιλίοις ἔτεσι τελεσθήσεσθαι. Τοσοῦτον γὰρ ᾤετο καθέξειν τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν βασιλείαν. Κατὰ τούτου δὲ οὐ μόνον οἱ προῤῥηθέντες συνέγραψαν, ἀλλὰ σὺν κείνοις καὶ Γάϊος, καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐπίσκοπος. Τοῦτον, ὡς φασιν, ὁ θεσπέσιος Ἰωάννης ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς λουόμενον θεασάμενος· συνέβη γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸν δι' ἀρρώστIAN χρῆσθαι τῷ βαλανείῳ· Φύγωμεν, εἶπεν, ἐντεῦθεν, μὴ διὰ Κήρινθον τοῦ βαλανείου πεσόντος, τῆς βλάβης καὶ ἡμεῖς συμμετάσχωμεν.

II 7 (c. 393A/B)

Οἱ δὲ Ἑλκεσαῖοι, ἐκ τινος Ἑλκεσαὶ τῆς αἱρέσεως ἄρξαντος τὴν προσηγορίαν λαβόντες, ἐκ διαφόρων αἱρέσεων μύθους ἐρανισάμενοι, τὴν

use the Gospel of Matthew only. They also honour the Sabbath according to the Jewish Law but the Lord's day they hallow as we do.

II 2

The Nazoraeans are Jews. They honour Christ as a righteous man and use the so-called Gospel according to Peter. Eusebius said that these heresies originated during the time of the emperor Domitian. Against those Justin the philosopher and martyr has written, as also Irenaeus, the successor of the apostles and Origen.

II 3

At the same time Cerinthus started an other heresy. He had spent a considerable time in Egypt. He had been instructed in the philosophical sciences. Later he came to Asia. He called his own pupils after his own name. He taught that there is one God over all who is not the creator of the world. It was created by some powers removed from him who did not even know him at all. Like the Hebrews he said that Jesus has been born in a natural way from a man and a woman, Joseph and Mary, but that he excelled in insight and righteousness and all other good things. Christ had descended upon him in the form of a dove. Next he preached the unknown God and performed well known miracles. At the time of his suffering Christ left him and Jesus endured the passion. He also invented some revelations as if he had seen them himself and he composed doctrines about certain horrors. He also said that the Kingdom of the Lord would be upon earth. And he dreamt of food and drink and he also invented delights, marriages, sacrifices and banquets which would be celebrated in Jerusalem and said that they would last a thousand years. So long he believed the Kingdom of the Lord would last. Against him have written not only those mentioned above but with them also Gaius and Dionysius, the bishop of Alexandria. This one, it is said, saw the divine John the evangelist when he was bathing. For it happened that when he was taking a bath because of ill-health, he said: Let us go away from here lest the bath-house collapse because of Cerinthus and we also be swept away by the small disaster.

II 7

The Elkesaites having taken their name from a certain Elkesai who started a heresy, collected their stories from different heresies

οἰκείαν συντεθείκασι πλάνην. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἀρχὴν συμφωνοῦσιν ἡμῖν. "Ἐνα γὰρ ἀγέννητον λέγουσι, καὶ τοῦτον τῶν ἀπάντων καλοῦσι Δημιουργόν. Χριστὸν δὲ οὐχ ἓνα λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν ἄνω, τὸν δὲ κάτω· καὶ τοῦτον πάλαι πολλοῖς ἐνψυχήκεναι, ὕστερον δὲ κατεληλυθέναι· τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν ποτὲ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι φησι, ποτὲ δὲ πνεῦμα καλεῖ, ποτὲ δὲ παρθένον ἐσχηκέναι μητέρα. Ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ συγγράμμασιν οὐδὲ τοῦτο. Καὶ τοῦτον δὲ πάλιν μετενσωματοῦσθαι, καὶ εἰς ἄλλα ἵεναι σώματα λέγει, καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον καιρὸν διαφόρως δεῖκνυσθαι. Ἐπωδαῖς δὲ καὶ δαιμόνων ἐπικλήσεσι καὶ οὗτοι κέχρηται, καὶ βαπτίσμασιν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν στοιχείων ὁμολογίᾳ. Ἀστρολογίαν δὲ, καὶ μαγικὴν, καὶ μαθηματικὴν ἡσπάζοντο πλάνην, καὶ προγνωστικούς ἑαυτοὺς προσηγόρευον. Τὸν δὲ Ἀπόστολον παντελῶς ἠρνήθησαν· καὶ βίβλον δὲ τινα συντεθείκασιν, ἣν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἔφασαν πεπτωκέναι. Ταύτης τὸν ἀκηκοῦτα ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν λαμβάνειν παρ' ἣν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐδωρήσατο. Κατὰ ταύτης τῆς αἰρέσεως Ὠριγένης συνέγραψεν ἀληθῶς. Συνεκρότησε δὲ αὐτὴν Ἀλκιβιάδης, ἐξ Ἀπαμείας τῆς Συρίας ὁρμώμενος.

II 11 (c. 397B)

Οὐδὲ γὰρ βραχὺ τούτων διέμεινε λείψανον· οὐ Κηρινθιανῶν, οὐκ Ἐβιωνέων, οὐ Θεοδοτιανῶν, οὐκ Ἐλκεσαίων ...

V 11 (c. 488D-489A)

Ὁ δὲ Κήρινθος τὸν μὲν Ἰησοῦν ἐξ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας ἔφησε γεννηθῆναι κατὰ τὸν κοινὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόμον, ἄνωθεν δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν κατεληλυθότα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν. Ἐβιωναῖοι δὲ, καὶ Θεοδοτιανοὶ, καὶ Ἀρτεμωνιανοὶ, καὶ Φωτεινιανοὶ, ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰρήκασιν ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου τὸν Χριστὸν γεγενῆσθαι.

PSEUDO-HEGEMONIUS

acta archelai, ed. Beesson, in: *GCS*
425/450

LXVIII (p. 98-99)

Hoc defuncto (scil. Basilides) aliae rursum multae diversae hereses ebullierunt, quae divinitatem Christi negantes tantummodo confitentur humanitatem eius ex Maria. Ex quibus est Cerinthus, Ebion et nunc Fotinus, qui eorum heresim instauravit.

and composed their own mistaken creed. They agree with us about the beginning of all things. For they say that there is one Unborn and they call him the creator of all things. They say that Christ is not one, but was partly from above and partly from below. Earlier he had already lived in many persons and in the end he came down. Sometimes he says that Jesus is from God, then he calls him a Spirit and then again he says that he had a virgin as mother. In other books he does not say this. He says that he went from one body to another and that he went into other bodies and that he showed himself differently each time. They use incantations and call upon demons in their hymns and they also used baptisms while they invoke the elements. They indulge in astrology, magic and mathematical errors. They say that they possess pre-vision. They deny completely the apostle. They put together a certain book of which they say it fell from heaven. Whoever obeyed it, receives the forgiveness of sins, different from the forgiveness Christ has given. Against this heresy Origen has written truly. Alcibiades coming from Apamea in Syria adhered to it.

II 11

And a remnant of these did a long time remain neither of the Cerinthians, nor of the Ebionites, nor of the Theodotians and the Elkesaites ...

V 11

Cerinthus said that Jesus was born of Joseph and Mary according to the general law of mankind, but from heaven Christ descended upon Jesus. The Ebionites, the Theodotians, the Artemonians and the Photinians said that Christ had been born as a mere man of the virgin.

PSEUDO HEGEMONIUS

acta archelai

LXVIII

After his death many other different heresies welled up again which denied the godhead of Christ and only accepted his humanity being from Mary. Of these are Cerinthus, Ebion and at this time Photinus who renewed their heresy.

HILARIUS ARELATENSIS

expos. in epist. cathol., ed. Hamman, in: *MPL* suppl. III
ca. 440 ?

I Joh. 1,1 (c. 116)

“Quod fuit ab initio”; id contra Ebionem et Cherinthum. et Photinum et Sabellum et Arrium. haec dicta componit. qui Christum ante Mariam non fuisse dixerunt.

EUGYPPIUS ABBAS AFRICANUS

thesaurus, ed. *MPL* 62
2nd half 5th cent.

CCXXVI (c. 888B)

Sicut illi qui se christianos Nazarenos vocant, et more judaico carnalia praepudia circumcidunt; nati haeretici, ex illo errore in quem Petrus devians a Paulo revocatus est, in hoc adhuc usque persistunt.

GENNADIUS MASSILIENSIS

de eccl. dogm., ed. Oehler, in: *Corp. Haer.* I
end 5th cent.

II (p. 336)

Natus est ergo dei filius ex homine, et non per hominem, id est non ex viri coitu, sicut Hebion dicit, sed carnem ex virginis corpore trahens ...

XXII (LII) (p. 348)

Neque enim credendum est eos fuisse baptizatos qui non in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti iuxta regulam a domino positam tincti sunt: vel Christum hominem fuisse absque deo, ut Cerinthus, Hebion, Artemon et Photinus.

XXV (LV) (p. 349)

In divinis repromissionibus nihil terrenum vel transitorium expectemus, sicut Meletiani sperant, non nuptiarum copulam, sicut Cerinthus et Marcion delirant ...

HILARIUS ARELATENSIS

expos. in epist. cath.

I Joh. 1,1

“What was from the beginning”. This is against Ebion, Cerinthus, Photinus, Sabellius and Arrius. These words he composed. They said that Christ did not exist before Mary.

EUGYPPUS ABBAS AFRICANUS

thesaurus

CCXXXVI

Like those who call themselves Nazarene Christians and circumcise the carnal foreskin in a Jewish way, they are born heretics. Peter was called back by Paul from this error when he deviated into it. In this they persist up to the present day.

GENNADIUS MASSILIENSIS

de eccl. dogm.

2

The Son of God, therefore, is not born of a man and not by a man; which means not from the intercourse of man, as Hebion said, for he took flesh from the body of a virgin.

22 (52)

But one must also not believe that those have been baptized who have not been immersed in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit according to the rule set by the Lord: ... or that Christ had become man separated from God, as Cerinthus, Hebion, Artemon and Photinus.

25 (55)

Let us expect from the divine promises nothing earthly or transitory such as the Melitani hope, nor nuptial bonds such as Cerinthus and Marcion are raving about ...

KÖLNER-CODEX

ed. Henrichs-Koenen, in: *Zeitschr. f. Papyr. u. Epigraph.* 5,2
5th cent.

94,1-95,14 (p. 135-136)

εἰ τοίνυν περὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος κατηγορεῖτέ μου, ἰδοὺ πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ὑμῶν δείκνυμι ὑμῖν καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀποκαλυφθέντων τοῖς μείζουσιν ὑμῶν, ὅτι οὐ δέον ἐστὶ βαπτίζεσθαι. δείκνυσι γὰρ Ἀλχασαῖος ὁ ἀρχηγὸς τοῦ νόμου ὑμῶν· πορευομένου γὰρ αὐτοῦ λούσασθαι εἰς ὕδατα εἰκὼν ἀνδρὸς ὥφθη αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς πη[γ]ῆ[s] τῶν ὑδάτων λέγου[σα] πρὸς αὐτόν· „οὐκ αὐ[τάρ]κως ἔχει τὰ ζῶά σου [πλή]ττειν με, ἀλλὰ καὶ [αὐτὸς] σὺ καταπονεῖς [...]ον καὶ τὰ ὕδατά μου ἀ[ρ]σεβεῖς,,, ὥς [τε θαυμάσ]αι τὸν Ἀλχα[σαῖον καὶ εἰ]πεῖν πρὸς αὐτήν· „ἡ πορνεία καὶ ἡ μιαιρότης καὶ ἡ ἀκαθαρσία τοῦ κόσμου ἐπιρρίπτεται σοι καὶ οὐκ ἀπαυδᾷς, ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ δὲ λυπῇ,,, ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· „εἰ καὶ οὗτοι πάντες οὐκ ἔγνωσάν με, τίς τυγχάνω, σὺ ὁ φάσκων λάτρης εἶναι καὶ δίκαιος, διὰ τί οὐκ ἐφύλαξάς μου τὴν τιμὴν,,, καὶ τότε κινήθε[ις ὁ] Ἀλχασαῖος οὐκ ἐλούσ[α]το εἰς τὰ ὕδατα.

96,6-16 (p. 143)

„ἡμεῖς κάκεῖνα τὰ ὕδατα τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἐν τυγχάνομεν. ἡλθες οὖν καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀμαρτῆσαι καὶ πληῆξαι ἡμᾶς,,, πάννυ δὲ τρομάσας καὶ κινήθεις ὁ Ἀλχασαῖος τὸν πη[λ]ὸν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ εἴασεν ξηραν[θῆ]ναι.

96,21-97,10 (p. 147)

ἐφθέγγα[το δ’ ἡ γῆ λ]έγουσα α[ὐτῷ, scil. Ἀλχασαῖῳ]· „[τί πρ]ά[τ]τ[ε] [ε]τε(?) ἐξ ἐμοῦ [τῇ]ν ἐργασίαν ὑμῶν,,, [ὁ δ]’ ἐ Ἀλχασαῖος δεξάμενος χοῦν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης τῆς λαλησάσης πρὸς αὐτόν, κλαίων κατεφίλησε καὶ ἐπέθηκε τῷ κόλπῳ καὶ ἤρξα[το] λέγειν· „αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα τοῦ κυρίου μου,,,.

97,11-17 (p. 146)

ἔφη δ’ αὖ πάλιν ὅτι εὗρεν τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ Ἀλχασαῖος πέπτοντας ἄρτους, ὥς καὶ λαλῆσαι τὸν ἄρτον πρὸς τὸν [Ἀλ]χασαῖον. ὃς δὲ ἐνετε[ίλα]το μηκέτι πέπτει[ν].

KÖLNER-CODEX

94, 1-95, 14

If you accuse me concerning baptism, see, again I show you from your Law and from what had been revealed to your leaders that it is not necessary to baptize oneself. For this is shown by Alchasaïos the founder of your Law. When he came to wash himself in the water, a vision appeared to him of a man in the fountain who said to him: "Is it not sufficient that your living beings beat me? You also ill-treat (me) and you sin against my waters". Therefore, Alchasaïos was astonished and said to it: "The fornication, the dirt and the impurity of the world is cast upon you and you do not forbid it, but you complain of it to me". And it said to him: "Even if everybody does not know who I am, you who claim to be a servant of God and a righteous man, why did you not honour me? Thereupon Alchasaïos was moved and did not wash himself in the waters.

96, 6-16

"We and those waters in the sea are one. You, then, have come here to sin and to ill-treat us". Alchasaïos started to tremble vehemently and was moved and let the dirt dry upon his head.

96, 21-97, 10

The earth opened its mouth and said to him: "Why do you earn your living out of me?" And Alchasaïos took dust from the earth that spoke to him, cried, kissed it and laid it in his lap and began to say: "This is the flesh and the blood of my Lord."

97, 11-17

"(Mani) said again that when Alchasaïos found his pupils baking bread, the bread spoke to Alchasaïos. And he ordered them to stop baking.

PRIMASIUS

comm. in apoc., in: *MPL* 68

ca. 550

prol. lib. I (c. 796C)

Postea vero Evangelium scripsit, cum eum post Domitiani mortem exsilio liberum multorum precaretur congregatio sacerdotum, ne falsorum praedicatorum labe decipi sinisset ignaros. Valentinus enim, Cerinthus et Ebion multos suos falsitatibus irretire jam coeperant, quibus jure cassandis veri Evangelii fuerat novitate resistendum.

CASSIODORUS

hist. eccl. tripart., ed. Jacob-Hanslik, in: *CSEL* 71

† 583

I 14 (p. 61)

Vos ipsi enim estis divinitus eruditi non ignorantes, quia doctrina, quae nuper contra pietatem surrexit ecclesiasticam, Ebionis est et Artemonis et zelus Pauli Samosatani de Antiocha synodali omnium episcoporum ab ecclesia pulsi.

IX 16 V (p. 519)

Anathematizamus Photinum, qui Ebionis heresem renovans dominum nostrum Iesum Christum solum ex Maria confitetur.

TIMOTHY PRESBYTER OF CONSTANTINOPLE

de recept. haer., ed. *MPG* 86 I

ca. 600

c. 28B/C

Περὶ Ἑβριοναίων.

Οὗτοι ταπεινὰ περὶ Χριστοῦ δοξάζουσι. Ψιλὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ κοινὸν ἡγοῦνται ἄνθρωπον, κατὰ προκοπὴν ἥθους δεδικαιωμένον· ἐξ ἀνδρὸς δὲ κοινωνίας καὶ τῆς Μαρίας γεγενῆσθαι. Καὶ πᾶσαι δὲ αἱ αἱρέσεις τοῦτο λέγουσι· καὶ οὗτος, ὁ Κήρινθος καὶ Καρποκράτης τὸ αὐτὸ λέγουσι καὶ φρονοῦσιν. Ὅθεν καὶ πτωχοὶ ὀνομάζονται. Τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ὀνομάζεται Ἑβριοναῖος. Ἀλλὰ καὶ δοκῇσι γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον τὸν Κύριον, καὶ ἐπιλεχθέντα ἐκλεκτὸν, κατ' ἐκλογὴν υἱὸν Θεοῦ κληθέντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁνωθεν εἰς αὐτὸν ἡκοντος Χριστοῦ ἐν εἵδει περιστερᾶς. Οὗτοι οὐδὲ ἔμφυχον τρώγουσιν· ἐρωτῶμενοι δὲ, Διὰ τί οὐ

PRIMASIUS

*comm. in apoc.**prol. lib. I*

Next, however, he wrote the Gospel since a group of priests bade him to do so, he being freed from exile after the death of Domitian, lest he permitted those who were ignorant to be deceived by the destructive action of the false preachers. For Valentinus, Cerinthus and Ebion already began to ensnare many of their followers with their lies which had to be withheld by the newness of the true Gospel, because they deserve to be annihilated.

CASSIODORUS

hist. eccl. tripart.

I 14

For you yourselves are taught by God and are not ignorant that the doctrine which not long ago stood up against the ecclesiastical piety is prompted by Ebion, Artemon and the zeal of Paul of Samosata from Antioch, banished from the Church by the Synod of all the bishops.

IX 16 V

We anathematize Photinus who renewing the heresy of Ebion, asserted that our Lord Jesus Christ was from Mary only.

TIMOTHY PRESBYTER OF CONSTANTINOPLE

de recept. haer.

28 B/C

About the Ebionites. They have poor ideas about Christ. For they suppose him to be a mere man like others, justified by his progress in his way of life, and born of the intercourse of a man and Mary. And all heresies say this. Cerinthus and Carpocrates also say and believe the same thing. Therefore they are called "poor ones". For this is the significance of the word Ebionite among the Hebrews. But they also say that this man became the Lord in appearance and that he was called the chosen one, named son of God according to election from on high when Christ came upon him in the form of a dove. They do not eat meat and when they were asked why they did not, they say: It is

τρώγετε· Ἐπειδὴ, φασὶν, ἐκ συνουσίας καὶ ἐπιμίξεως σωμάτων εἶναι αὐτὰ, διὰ τοῦτο οὐ μεταλαμβάνομεν αὐτῶν.

c. 28C-29A

Περὶ Κηρίνου, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Κηρινθιανοί. Ἄλλοι δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι Ἐβιοναῖός ἐστι.

Οὗτος λέγει ὡς δι' ἀποκαλύψεων μεγάλων δι' ἀγγέλων δεδειγμένων. Ψευδόμενος ἐπεισάγει, λέγων μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐπίγειον εἶναι τὸ βασιλείον τοῦ Χριστοῦ· καὶ πάλιν ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ τὴν κατὰ σάρκα πολιτευομένην ἀριθμὸν χιλιονταετίας ἐν γάμῳ ἑορτῆς πλανῶν λέγει γενέσθαι. Φασὶ δὲ ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Πολύκαρπος εἶπεν, ὅτι ποτὲ λουομένου ἐν βαλανείῳ τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου, μαθόντος ὅτι καὶ Κήρινθος λούεται ἀποπηδήσαι τοῦ τόπου καὶ φυγεῖν, παραινοῦντος τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ, Φύγωμεν, μὴ καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον συμπύση, ἔνδον ὄντος Κηρίνου τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθροῦ, καὶ λάβῃ τοὺς πάντας. Φασὶ δὲ ὅτι οὗτος τὴν παραχῇν εἰργάσατο, ὅτε οἱ περὶ Ἰάκωβον γεγράφασιν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, ὅτι Ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐξήλθον ταρασσόντες ἡμᾶς. Ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ διεκρίνετο περὶ τοῦ Κορνηλίου. Ἄλλοτε δὲ καὶ κατὰ Παύλου αἴτιος τῆς ταραχῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ γέγονεν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὅτε ἐκέειρατο. Καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν δὲ λέγει σταυρωθῆναι μὲν μήπω δὲ ἐγγεῖρθαι, μέλλειν δὲ ἀνίστασθαι, ὅτε καὶ ἡ καθόλου γίνεται ἀνάστασις.

c. 32B

Περὶ Ἑλκεσαϊτῶν.

Οὗτοι ἀθετοῦσιν τινὰ ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς θείας Γραφῆς. Κέχρηται δὲ ῥητοῖς πάλιν ἀπὸ τε Παλαιᾶς καὶ Νέας. Τὸν Ἀπόστολον τέλεον ἀθετοῦσιν. Ἐτι λέγουσι καὶ τὸ ἀρνέισθαι ἀδιάφορον εἶναι· καὶ ὁ μὲν νοήσας, τῷ στόματι [ἐν] ἀνάγκαις ἀρνήσεται, τῇ δὲ καρδίᾳ οὐχί. Βίβλον δὲ τινὰ προφέρουσιν, ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταπεπτωκέναι λέγοντες, καὶ τὸν ἀκκηκότα ἐκείνης καὶ πιστεύοντα, ἄφεσιν λήψεσθαι τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων· ἄλλην δὲ ἄφεσιν φασιν ἔαθῆναι, παρ' ἣν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἀφῆκεν.

ex Nic. rand., ed. MPG 86 I

2 (c. 69A/B)

Καὶ οἱ μὲν βαπτιζόμενοι, εἰσὶν οἷδε· ... Ἐβιοναῖοι· Κηρινθιανοί, οἱ ἀπὸ Κηρίνου· ... Ἑλκεσαῖται· ...

from the coming together and intermingling of bodies, therefore we do not partake of it.

28 C-29 A

With regard to Cerinthus, from whom came the Cerinthians. Others say that he is an Ebionite. He says that he has been shown great revelations by angels. Being deceitful he introduces the idea that after the resurrection there will be a kingdom of Christ on earth. Next he says mistakingly that Jerusalem according to the flesh will live in lusts and pleasures for a thousand years of marriagefeast. It is said that the holy Polycarp said: When the evangelist John was once bathing in the bath-house upon a time and learned that Cerinthus was also bathing, he left the place and flew away, warning those who were with him: Let us flee lest the bath-house collapse since Cerinthus the enemy of the truth is inside — and he took them all with him. It is said that he brought about a disturbance when those around James wrote to Antioch: Some of us have gone out to disturb us. He also condemned Peter with regard to Cornelius. At another time he was also the cause of a disturbance against Paul in the temple in Jerusalem when he had shaved himself. He also says that Christ was crucified but has not yet risen again but will raise when the general resurrection takes place.

32 B

About the Elkesaites. They reject some parts of the entire holy Scripture. But they quote sentences from the Old and New Testament. They reject the Apostle completely. They also say that to deny their faith is of no importance. And he who deliberately denies with his mouth when he is in distress, does not do so with his heart. They present some book of which they say that it has fallen from heaven and that the one who ever has obeyed and believed it, has received forgiveness of sins. They say that another forgiveness is permitted apart from the one Jesus Christ our God grants us.

ex Nic. pand.

And those who are baptized are these ... the Ebionites, the Cerinthians, who come from Cerinthus ... the Elkesaites.

ISIDORUS OF SEVILLE

de haer. lib., ed. Vega, in: *Script. Eccl.* V
625/635

VIII (p. 27)

Carpocratiani dicunt hominem fuisse tantummodo Christum de utroque sexu creatum, et resurrectionem non recipiunt. Hoc et Ebionitae et Theodotiani secuntur.

IX (p. 27)

Cerinthiani similia putant. Resurrexisse etiam Christum abnegant. Mille quoque annos post resurrectionem in carnis uoluptate libidinique futuros adfirmant.

X (p. 27)

Nazaraei Christum deum dicunt et carnaliter Testamentum uetus accipiunt.

XI (p. 27)

Ebionitae Christum hominem (tantummodo) dicunt et carnaliter legem accipiunt.

quaest. in vet. test. in Lev., ed. *MPL* 83
625/636

XI 7 (c. 328B)

In carne et cute gerunt lepram, qui carnalia vel exteriora suadere conantur, ut Cerinthiani, qui resurrectionem futuram in carnis uoluptate existimant; ...

etym. lib., ed. Oehler, in: *Corp. Haer.* I
625/636

VIII VI 8 (p. 304)

Cerinthiani a Cerintho quodam nuncupati. Hi inter cetera circumcisionem observant, mille annos post resurrectionem in uoluptate carnis futuros praedicant. Unde et Graece Chiliastae, Latine Milliastae sunt appellati.

VIII VI 9 (p. 304)

Nazarei dicti qui dum Christum, qui a vico Nazareus est appellatus, filium dei confiteantur, omnia tamen veteris legis custodiunt.

ISIDORUS OF SEVILLE

de haer. lib.

VIII

The Carpocratians say that Christ was only man created from both sexes and they do not accept the resurrection. This heresy is also followed by the Ebionites and the Theodotians.

IX

The Cerinthians accept similar things. They also deny that Christ rose from the dead. They assert also that there will be a thousand years after the resurrection (spent) in voluptuousness and lust of the flesh.

X

The Nazoraeans say that Christ is God and interpret the Old Testament carnally.

XI

The Ebionites say that Christ is (only) man and accept the Law carnally.

quaest. in vet. test. in Lev.

XI 7

They bear leprosy in their flesh and skin who try to propagate carnal and exterior things like the Cerinthians who believe that the coming resurrection will be in voluptuousness.

etym. lib.

VIII VI 8

The Cerinthians are so called after a certain Cerinthus. Among other things these observe circumcision and preach that there will be a thousand years after the resurrection spent in fleshly voluptuousness. Therefore they are called in Greek Chiliasts and in Latin Millenarians.

VIII VI 9

Although the so-called Nazoraeans confess that Christ who is called Nazareus after the village, is the Son of God, they nevertheless keep, everything of the old Law.

VIII VI 37 (p. 306)

Ebionitae ab Ebione dicti, sive a paupertate. Christum enim per profectum solum verum iustum putant effectum. Unde competenter Ebionitae pro paupertate appellati sunt. Hi Semiudaei sunt, et ita tenent evangelium, ut legem carnaliter servant. Adversus quos ad Galatas apostolus scribens invehitur.

VIII VI 38 (p. 306)

Photiniani a Photino de Gallograecia, Sirmii episcopo, nuncupati, qui Ebionitarum haeresim suscitans asseruit Christum a Maria per Ioseph nuptiali coitu fuisse conceptum.

CHRONICON PASCHALE

ed. Dindorf

629

252C/D (p. 471-72)

Τραϊανοῦ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν διωγμὸν κινήσαντος Σίμων ὁ τοῦ Κλεωπᾶ, τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος γενόμενος, ἐμαρτύρησεν, γενόμενος ἐτῶν ρκ', ἐπὶ Ἀττικοῦ ὑπατικοῦ διαβληθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς μοίρας Κηρίνου καὶ τῶν λεγομένων Νικολαΐτων, ὡς οὐ μόνον Χριστιανός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ γένους Δαβὶδ ὑπάρχων, ὃς ἐπὶ πλείστας ἡμέρας αἰκισθεὶς, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν δικαστὴν καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν τὰ μέγιστα καταπλήξας, τῷ τοῦ σταυροῦ πάθει παραπλήσιον τοῦ κυρίου τέλος ἀπηνέγκατο.

Ἐπὶ τῶν προκειμένων ὑπάτων ἢ τῶν Ἑβιωναίων αἵρεσις ἐγνωρίζετο, πτωχὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοξάζουσα, μὴ εἶναι λέγουσα τὸν Χριστὸν πρὸ αἰώνων, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐσχάτων, ἀξίαν τῆς αἱρέσεως αὐτῶν τὴν ὀνομασίαν εἰληφότες. Ἑβιωναῖοι γὰρ πτωχοὶ ἐρμηνεύονται.

GEORGIUS MONACHUS

chron. breve, ed. MPG 110

638/39

II 135 (c. 525B/C)

Θνήσκει δὲ Ἀδριανὸν προχειρισάμενος βασιλέα. Ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ Συμεὼν ὁ τοῦ Κλεόπα ὁ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπίσκοπος καὶ Ἰγνάτιος ὁ θεοφόρος

VIII VI 37

The Ebionites are named after Ebion or poverty. For they think that Christ became truly righteous by progress in virtue only. Therefore they are suitably called Ebionites because of their poverty. They are half-Jews and they keep the Gospel in such a way that they serve the Law carnally. The apostle attacks them writing against them (in his letter) to the Galatians.

VIII VI 38

The Photinians are named after Photinus of Gallograecia, bishop of Sirmium, who revived the heresy of the Ebionites and declared that Christ has been conceived by Mary through Joseph in matrimonial intercourse.

CHRONICON PASCHALE

252 C/D

When Trajan set in motion a persecution against the Christians Simon the son of Cleopas, who had become bishop of the Church in Jerusalem, became a martyr at the age of a hundred and twenty during the time that Atticus was the procurator calumniated by those of the group of Cerinthus and the so-called Nicolaites. He was not only a Christian but also from the family of David. He had been tortured during a number of days and had struck with amazement the judge himself and those with him. He suffered a death at the cross which was similar to that of the Lord.

During the time of the procurators mentioned above the heresy of the Ebionites became known, having poor ideas with regard to the things about Christ saying that Christ was not from before the ages but came at the end. They received a name which agrees with their heresy for the word Ebionites means poor ones.

GEORGIUS MONACHOS

chron. breve.

II 135

He died after he had appointed Hadrian as king. During his reign Simeon the son of Cleopas the bishop in Jerusalem and Ignatius,

ἐμαρτύρησαν. Καὶ Βασιλείδης, καὶ Μένανδρος, καὶ Κήρινθος, καὶ Νικόλαος, εἰς τῶν ζ' διακόνων, οἱ αἵρεσιάρχαι, ἐχθροὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐγνωρίζοντο. [Ὁ ῥήθεις Νικόλαος ὁ εἰς τῶν ζ' διακόνων καὶ Ἐβιωναῖος.]

III 157 (c. 552C)

Ἐπὶ Δεκίου ὁ ἅγιος Κυπριανὸς ἐμαρτύρησε καὶ Ἐλκεσαῖος ὁ αἵρεσιάρχης ἐγνωρίζετο.

JOHN DAMASCENE

de haer., ed. MPG 94

ca. 745

28 (c. 693B)

Κηρινθιανοί· οἱ καὶ Μερινθιανοί· οὗτοι ἀπὸ Κηρίνθου, καὶ Μηρίνθου, Ἰουδαῖοι τινες, τὴν περιτομὴν αὐχοῦντες, τὸν τε κόσμον ὑπ' ἀγγέλων γεγενῆσθαι, Ἰησοῦν δὲ κατὰ προκοπὴν Χριστὸν κεκλήσθαι ἔλεγον.

29 (c. 696A)

Ναζωραῖοι. οἱ Χριστὸν ὁμολογοῦσιν Ἰησοῦν Υἱὸν Θεοῦ· πάντα δὲ κατὰ νόμον πολιτευόμενοι.

30 (c. 696A/B)

Ἐβιωναῖοι. παραπλήσιοι τοῖς προειρημένοις Κηρινθιανοῖς καὶ Ναζωραίοις· συνήφθη δὲ κατὰ τι ἢ τῶν Σαμψαίων καὶ Ἐλκεσαίων αἵρεσις, οἱ Χριστὸν φασιν ἐκτίσθαι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· ἐνδημήσαντα δὲ Χριστὸν ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ, καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν ἐκδυόμενον αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀδὰμ, καὶ πάλιν ἐνδυόμενον, τὸ αὐτό φασιν ἀποτετελεκέναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἐνσάρκῳ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ. Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ ὄντες, Εὐαγγελίοις κέχρηνται. Σαρκοφαγίαν δὲ βδελύσσονται. Τὸ ὕδωρ ἀντὶ Θεοῦ ἔχουσι. Τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν ἀνθρωπον ἐν τῇ ἐνσάρκῳ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ ἐνδεδύσθαι, ὡς ἔφην. Συνεχῶς βαπτίζονται ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι, θέρους τε καὶ χειμῶνος, εἰς ἀγνισμόν δῆθεν, ὥσπερ οἱ Σαμαρεῖται.

53 (c. 709B)

Σαμψαῖοι, καὶ Ἐλκεσαῖοι· ἔτι δεῦρο τὴν Ἀραβίαν κατοικοῦντες, καθύπερθεν τῆς Νεκρᾶς θαλάσσης κειμένην· οἷτινες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐλξά, τινὸς ψευδοπροφήτου, ἡπατημένοι, οὗ ἔτι καὶ δεῦρο ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας ὑπῆρχον Μαρθοῦς καὶ Μαρθῖνα γυναῖκες, προσκυνούμεναι ὑπὸ τῆς αἱρέσεως ὡς θεαί. Παραπλησίως τῶν Ἐβιωναίων τὰ πάντα ἔχοντες.

the “bearer-God”, suffered martyrdom. And Basilides, Menander, Cerinthus, Nicolaus, one of the seven deacons, the arch-heretic, enemies of the truth, became known. Nicolaus mentioned above was one of the seven deacons and an Ebionite.

III 157

In the time of Decius the holy Cyprian suffered martyrdom ... and Elkesai the arch-heretic became known.

JOHN DAMASCENE

de haer.

28

The Cerinthians, also called Merinthians. They take their name from Cerinthus or Merinthus. They are Jews and are proud of circumcision. They said that the world was created by angels and that Jesus was called Christ because of his progress in virtue.

29

The Nazoraeans. They confess that Jesus is the Christ, Son of God, but live in every way according to the Law.

30

The Ebionites. They are similar to the above mentioned Cerinthians and Nazoraeans. The heresy of the Sampsaeans and Elkesaites united them in some respect. They say that Christ was created in heaven as was also the Holy Spirit. Christ dwelt in Adam and in the course of time withdrew from Adam. They say that then he put him on again. This brought him to perfection when he came in the flesh. They are Jews. They use the Gospels. Eating meat is abominable to them. They consider water to be God. As I said Christ put on man when he came in the flesh. They often baptize themselves in water, summer and winter, for sanctification, like the Samaritans.

53

The Sampsaeans and the Elkesaites. They still live in Arabia, above the Dead Sea. They have been deceived by Elxai, a false prophet, of whose family even up to now, exist Marthous and Marthina, women who are honoured by the heresy as goddesses. In everything they are similar to the Ebionites.

THEODORE BAR-KHONAI

lib. scholiorum, part II, ed. Scher, in: *CSCO* 69

791/2

p. 301

חל קאטא * קאטא על חגג חגג ללחמא
 ולחמא. חל חמא חל חמא חל חמא, חל חמא.
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p. 301

חל קאטא * קאטא חל חמא חל חמא חל חמא.
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p. 302

חל חמא חל חמא חל חמא חל חמא חל חמא.
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p. 307

חל חמא חל חמא חל חמא חל חמא חל חמא.
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p. 336-337

חל חמא חל חמא חל חמא חל חמא חל חמא.
 חל חמא חל חמא חל חמא חל חמא חל חמא.
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THEODOR BAR-KHONAI

liber scholiorum

p. 301

About the Ebionites. This Ebion agrees more or less with the Carithians (Cerinthians) and the Nazoraeans. About Christ he said that he was created and he said the same concerning the Holy Spirit. Christ put on Adam at the beginning. When Adam sinned, he took him off. He returned and put him on at the end of time. And since they were Jews, they used the Gospel and they abhorred eating meat and they honour water as God and every day they baptize themselves like the Samaritans, summer and winter.

p. 301

About the Carithians (Cerinthians). Of these Cerinthians, one was from Courinthos and the other from Caritos. They were of the Jewish race and taught circumcision. They said about the world that it was made by angels and about Jesus that he became Christ because of education and the excellence of his works.

p. 302

The heresy of the Nazoraeans. They confess that Christ is the Son of God, but they behave themselves as Jews in everything.

p. 307

About the Sampsaeans. The Sampsaeans, whose name also means "churches" (ecclesiae, cf. Elkesaites). They live in Arabia on the shore of the Red Sea. They are deceived by a man whose name is Elxai, who was a false prophet. There were two women of his family, Marthous and Marthana and they are honoured and worshipped by them as goddesses. In everything they have the same opinion as the Ebionites.

p. 336-337

The heresy of Cerinthus. He also says that after the resurrection there will be on earth a kingdom of the Messiah and that we shall enjoy the pleasures of the flesh in Jerusalem. And they say that the

marriage-feast will last a thousand years. When at a certain time the apostle John entered the bath-house, as is known from Irenaeus who received the report from Polycarp, and when he learned that Cerinthus was inside, he immediately left it and sat at the door, because he could not endure to be under the same roof as Cerinthus. And he said to those who were with him: Flee away lest the bath-house in which is the enemy of the truth, fall down. He was of Jewish descent and lived in Corinth. He taught that circumcision was necessary, and about the world that it was created by angels and about Jesus that he was Christ because of education and he excellence of his works.

PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS

expos. in ev. Matth.

II 2

Furthermore some heretics are called Nazoraeans, because they believed in Christ but they exerted themselves to keep all the decrees of the Old Testament. For they preached that Christ must be accepted but they did not seem to omit the shadow of the Law. Since their schism decided to choose special life, they invented a special Gospel for themselves — I do not know the author — which appropriately is called the Nazoraean Gospel. As if they gloried in their religion they gave themselves the reputation of holiness and there was brought a charge against them because they did not believe that Christ was able to grant sufficient righteousness for everyone. Since they are superstitious they try to combine the new with the old and they brought about a even worse schism and they were bereft of God — those who were found without faith.

V 9

This evidently the Ebionites did not understand. They mixed up the new with the old and did not think that one could comply with the Gospel of Christ without observing the Law of Moses.

THE FIHRIST OF AL-NADĪM

transl. Dodge

† 995

9,1 (vol. II, p. 773-774)

One day someone cried to him in the temple of idols with a shout: "Oh, Futtuq, do not eat meat! Do not drink wine! Do not marry a human being!" This was repeated for him a number of times during three days. Then, after Futtuq had perceived this, he became connected with a group of people in the environs of Dastumīsān known as the Mughtasilah. There is still a remnant of them in those regions and watered districts, even in this our own time.

9,1 (vol. II, p. 811)

The Mughtasilah. These people are very numerous in the regions of al-Baṭā'ih; they are (called) the Ṣābat al-Baṭā'ih. They observe ablution as a rite and wash everything which they eat. Their head is known as al-Ḥasiḥ and it is he who instituted their sect. They assert that the two existences are male and female and that the herbs are from the likeness of the male, whereas the parasite plants are from the likeness of the female, the trees being veins (roots). They have seven sayings, taking the form of fables. His (al-Ḥasiḥ's) disciple was named Sham'un. They agreed with the Manichaeans about the two elemental (principles), but later their sect became separate. Until this our own day, some of them venerate the stars.

THE NESTORIAN HISTORY

Hist. Nestorienne, ed. Scher, in: *PO* 7

10th cent.

p. 191

Celui-ci (scil. Baboukabr) traduisit l'Ancien Testament de l'hébreu en syriaque. Il changea ensuite de conduite en s'attachant à la doctrine d'Ebion, qui prétendait que l'humanité du Christ était dépouillée de sa divinité et qu'il était de la race d'un certain charletan, appelé Paul l'apôtre.

DIONYSIUS BAR-SALIBI

in apocalypsim

p. 4

Hippolytus the Roman says: A man appeared, named Caius, saying that the Gospel is not by John, nor the Apocalypse but that it is by Cerinthus the heretic. And against that Caius the blessed Hippolytus stood up and showed that the doctrine of John in the Gospel and in the Apocalypse, is one and that of Cerinthus is another. Cerinthus, then, taught circumcision and was enraged against Paul because he had not circumcised Titus and he called the Apostle and his pupils in one of his letters false apostles and deceitful labourers. Further he taught that the world had been created by angels and that the Lord was not born of a virgin and about carnal food and drink and other blasphemies.

HONORIUS AUGUSTODUNENSIS

de haer. libell.

XXIII

The Cerinthians are so called after a certain Cerinthus. These observe circumcision and preach that there will be a thousand years, after the resurrection, spent in fleshly voluptuousness.

XXIV

The Nazoraeans are so called after the village Nazareth. These confess that Christ is the Son of God but they observe everything in the old Law.

LII

The Ebionites are called after Ebion. These believe that Christ is only a perfect and righteous man. They are half-Jews, keep the Gospel and serve the Law carnally.

PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE

sermo CLXIX 5 de sancto Ioh. evang., ed. Hamman, in: *MPL* suppl. II e codice Vaticano ant. 615,11/12th cent.

c. 1265

At ubi a Domitiano, qui secundus post Neronem Christianorum persecutor extitit, exilio missus est, irrumpentes in ecclesiam haeretici, quasi in destituta a pastore ovilia lupi, Marcion, Cerinthus, et Ebion, ceterique Antichristi, qui Christum fuisse ante Mariam negabant, simplicitatem fidei evangelicae perversa maculavere doctrina.

PAULUS

de haer. libell., ed. Oehler, in: *Corp. Haer. I* 11/12th cent.

IV (p. 314)

Cerinthus, a quo Cerinthiani, et Ebion, a quo Ebionitae, pariter asseruerunt Christum hominem fuisse natum Maria. Contra hos scribit Iohannes apostolus evangelium. Praeterea Cerinthiani circumcisionem observant, mille annos post resurrectionem in voluptate carnis futuros praedicant, unde et Graece Chiliasti, Latine Miliasti sunt appellati. Item Ebionitae Semiudai sunt, et ita tenent evangelium ut legem carnaliter observent; adversus quos ad Galatas Paulus apostolus scribens invenitur.

V (p. 314)

Nazareni dicti qui dum Christum, qui a vico Nazarenus appellatur, filium dei confiteantur, omnia tamen veteris legis custodiunt.

XXXV (p. 317-318)

Photiniani a Photino Sirmiensi episcopo nuncupati, qui Ebionitarum haeresin suscitans asseruit Christum a Maria per Ioseph nuptiali coitu fuisse conceptum. Contra hos scripsit Audentius Hispanus episcopus.

PSEUDO AUGUSTINE

sermones

CLXIX 5

And when he was sent into exile by Domitian who appeared as the second persecutor of the Christians after Nero, heretics broke into the Church as wolves into a flock of sheep deprived of the shepherd, Marcion, Cerinthus, Ebion and the other antichrists who deny that Christ existed before Mary, to defile the simplicity of the evangelical faith with a perverted doctrine.

PAULUS

de haer. libell.

IV

Cerinthus from whom come the Cerinthians, and Ebion from whom come the Ebionites, equally declare that Christ was a man born of Mary. John the apostle wrote his Gospel against them. In addition to this the Cerinthians observe circumcision and preach that there will be a thousand years after the resurrection spent in fleshly voluptuousness. Therefore they are named Chiliasts in Greek and Millenarians in Latin. The Ebionites are also semi-Jews and keep the Gospel in such a way that they observe the Law carnally. The apostle Paul attack them writing against them (in the Letter) to the Galatians.

V

Although the so-called Nazoraeans confess that Christ — who is named after the village Nazarenus — is the Son of God, they nevertheless keep everything of the old Law.

XXXV

The Photinians, named after Photinus the bishop of Sirmium, who reviving the heresy of the Ebionites declared that Christ has been conceived by Mary through Joseph in matrimonial intercourse. Against those wrote the bishop Audentius Hispanus.

ALEXANDER MINORITA

expos. in apoc., ed. Wachtel, in: *Mon. Germ. Hist. I*
13th cent.

II 2 2 (p. 24)

Tempore beati Johannis surrexerunt falsi apostoli, id est haeretici, Marchion, Ebion, Cherinthus in Asia, rectam fidem corrumpere niten-
tes, Christum minorem patre praedicantes.

NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS

eccl. hist., ed. MPG 145
1256-1335

III 13 (c. 921C-924A)

Περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑβιοναίων αἵρέσεως.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἀπάτης εἶχον· ἕτεροι δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν
διαθέσεως τὸν Θεοῦ Υἱὸν ἱκανῶς ἀποσπασαὶ μὴ ἔχοντες, εὐτελεῖ
δοξάζειν περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσηγοῦντο. Ἑβιωναίους τούτους οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν ὠνό-
μασαν. Τοιαύτης δ' ἔτυχον προσηγητρίας, εὐστόχως τὴν τῆς διανοίας
αὐτῶν πτωχείαν ὑποφαινούσης· οὕτω γὰρ παρ' Ἑβραίοις ὁ πτωχὸς
ὀνομάζεται· ψιλὸν καὶ γὰρ ἄνθρωπον μόνον τὸν Χριστὸν ἐδόξαζον,
κατὰ προκοπὴν ἡθους δεδικαιωμένον· ἡρμένον μὲν καὶ γεγεννημένον
ἀπὸ Μαρίας, καὶ ἐκ συναφείας τοῦ Ἰωσήφ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐσχηκότα· καὶ
οὐ ῥάδιον ἔλεγον διὰ μόνης τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν πίστεως περιεῖναι τὸ
σώζεσθαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῆς νομικῆς θρησκείας τις μέτοχος εἴη, κακείνην
δὴ τὴν πολιτείαν μέτεισι. Τῆς δ' αὐτῆς αἵρέσεως εἰς δύο διηρημένης,
οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγον· οἱ δὲ προσείντο ἐκ Πνεύματος μὲν ἁγίου καὶ
τῆς Παρθένου Μαρίας γεγεννησθαι Χριστὸν, οὐ μὴν καὶ προϋπάρχοντα
Λόγον τε καὶ σοφίαν τοῦ ἀνάρχου εἶναι Θεοῦ. Κάντεϋθεν καὶ οὗτοι τῇ
ἐκείνων περιετρέποντο ἀσεβείᾳ. Ἐπίσης γὰρ κακείοις καὶ οὗτοι
τὴν κατὰ νόμον λατρείαν ὡς πλείστον περιέποντες ἦσαν. Ἀμέλει τοι
καὶ πάσας μὲν τοῦ Ἀποστόλου τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀπεσεύοντο, ἀποστάτην
τε τὸν Παῦλον ἐκάλουν, μόνῳ δὲ τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίους Εὐαγγελίῳ
διετέλουν προστετηκότες· καὶ τὸ μὲν Σάββατον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην αὐτῶν
παρατήρησιν ἐπίσης ἐκείνοις ἐφύλαττον· παραπλησίως δ' ἡμῖν καὶ τὰς
Κυριακάς ἐτίμων εἰς μνήμην τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναστάσεως.

ALEXANDER MINORITA

expos. in apoc.

II 2, 2

At the time of the blessed John false apostles arose, that means the heretics, Marcion, Ebion and Cerinthus in Asia, aiming at corrupting the right faith and preaching that Christ is less than the Father.

NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS

eccl. hist.

III 13

About the heresy of the Ebionites. Some practised this deceit, but others taught a simple idea about him since they were not able to disconnect sufficiently the Son of God from the opinion about Christ. The people before us called them Ebionites. They received this title when the poverty of their understanding was successfully brought to light. For this is the word that means "poor" with the Hebrews. They believed that Christ was only a mere man, justified according to his progress in his way of life. He came forth and was born of Mary and had his beginning in her marriage with Joseph. And they said that one could not easily attain salvation through the faith of Christ unless one participated in the legal rituals and shared in that way of life. This heresy is split up into two parts: Those who said this and those who keep the idea that Christ was born of the Holy Spirit and the virgin Mary, though they say he is not the pre-existent word and wisdom of God, without beginning. Therefore they perish in their impiety. For they are the same as these and those were very engaged in the worship according to the Law. They indeed also rejected all the epistles of the Apostle and called Paul an apostate. They are continually faithful to the Gospel according to the Hebrews, to that only. They kept the Sabbath and other observances of the same kind. Like us they also honour the Lord's day as a remembrance of the resurrection of Christ.

III 14 (c. 924A/D)

Περὶ Κηρίνθου τοῦ αἵρεσιάρχου.

Τῇ δ' αὐτῇ τοῦ χρόνου φορᾷ καὶ Κήρινθόν τινα ἄλλης αἵρέσεως ἀρχηγὸν Γάϊος ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἀνὴρ ἱστορεῖ γενέσθαι. „Ἀλλὰ καὶ Κήρινθος ὁ δι' ἀποκαλύψεων ὡς ὑπὸ ἀποστόλου μεγάλου γεγραμμένων τερατολογίας ἡμῖν ὡς δι' ἀγγέλων αὐτῷ δεδιδαγμένος ψευδόμενος ἐπεισάγει, λέγων, μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐπίγειον εἶναι τὸ βασιλεῖον τοῦ Χριστοῦ· καὶ πάλιν ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὴν σάρκα πολιτευομένην δουλεύειν· καὶ ἐχθρὸς ὑπάρχων ταῖς Γραφαῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀριθμὸν χιλιοετίας ἐν γάμου ἑορτῇ θέλων πλανᾷν λέγει γενέσθαι. „Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας μέμνηται ἐν δευτέρᾳ τῶν Ἐπαγγελιῶν περὶ τῆς Ἰωάννου Ἀποκαλύψεως. „Κήρινθον, λέγων, τὸν καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου κληθεῖσαν Κηρινθιανὴν αἵρεσιν συστησάμενον, ἀξιόπιστον ἐπιφημίσαι θελήσαντα τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πλάσματι ὄνομα. Τοῦτο γὰρ εἶναι τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ τὸ δογμα· ἐπίγειον ἔσσεσθαι τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ βασιλείαν· καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὠρέγετο, φιλοσώματος ὧν καὶ πάνυ σαρκικὸς, ἐν τούτοις ὀνειροπολεῖν ἔσσεσθαι γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γαστέρα πλησμονῶν, τοῦτ' ἔστι σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ γάμοις· καὶ δι' ὧν εὐφημότερον ταῦτα ᾤθηται ποριεῖσθαι, ἑορταῖς καὶ θυσίαις καὶ ἱερείων σφαγαῖς. „Καὶ Διονύσιος μὲν ταῦτα· Εἰρηναῖος δέ, καὶ ἄλλας ἱλίγγου πλήρεις φαντασίας ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Πρὸς τὰς αἵρέσεις προθέμενος, ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῆς αὐτοῦ πραγματείας καὶ ἄλλην ἡμῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ λήθης ἱστορίαν οὐκ ἀξίαν ἐπιφέρει· ἣν ἐκ παραδόσεως Πολυκάρπου τοῦ Σμυρναίων ἐπισκόπου ἔχειν φησίν· ὡς χρεῖας γενομένης, τὸν ἀπόστολον Ἰωάννην βαλανεῖω χρήσασθαι· γνόντα δέ, [ἐν] τῷ μέλλειν εἰσῆναι, Κήρινθον ἔνδον ὄντα, θύραζε ὅσον τάχος αὐθις ἀναπηδήσαι, μηδὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ στέγης μεταλαχεῖν ἐκείνῳ δίκαιον κρίναντα· εἰσηγγέσασθαί τε καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ τοῦτο, Φύγωμεν, ἐπειπόντος, μὴ τὸ βαλανεῖον ἡμῖν συμπέσῃ, ἔνδον ὄντος Κηρίνθου τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθροῦ.

V 12 (c. 1092B/C)

Εἰδέναι μέντοι χρεῶν, ὡς τῶν ἐρμηνευτῶν ὁ Σύμμαχος τῆς Ἐβιωναίων αἵρέσεως ἦν· ἣ δὲ, ὡς ἄνωθεν διελάβομεν, πτωχὰ τινα καὶ εὐτελῆ περὶ Χριστοῦ δοξάζουσα ἦν· ψιλὸν γὰρ ἄνθρωπον τὸν Χριστὸν ἔλεγεν εἶναι· καὶ ἐξ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐσχηκέναι· οἱ καὶ τὸν νόμον Ἰουδαϊκώτερον φυλάττειν χρῆναι ἀπισχυρίζοντο. Ἐξέδοτο δὲ ὁ Σύμμαχος ὑπομνήματα καὶ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ αἵρεσιν συνιστᾶν καὶ κρατύνειν δοκεῖ.

III 14

About Cerinthus the arch-heretic. In that same period is it said by Gaius an ecclesiastic that Cerinthus the leader of another sect appeared. But Cerinthus also produced some marvellous tales in a deceitful way — ostensibly based upon apocalypses written by a great apostle — which were supposed to have been shown to him by angels, saying that after the resurrection the kingdom of Christ would be established on earth and the flesh would again enjoy lusts and pleasures living in Jerusalem. And being an enemy of the Scriptures of God he said, since he wished to lead men astray, that there would be a marriage-feast of a thousand years. Dionysius of Alexandria mentions him in his second book on the Promises also in connection with the Apocalypse of John. He said: Cerinthus who also made up the heresy which is called after his name wished to give a trustworthy name to his own invention. For this is the idea of his doctrine: The kingdom of God will be on earth and he looked forward to those things — being a lover of the body and grossly carnal — of which the heart will dream and by which it is satisfied, viz. food and drink and marriage feasts. And by those things he believed he would acquire for himself a better reputation: feasts, sacrificial repasts and sacrifices of animals. So far Dionysius. And Irenaeus reveals other phantasies, full of absurdities, in the first book against the Heresies. In the third book of his work he relates to us also another story in connection with him which is worth keeping in remembrance. He says that he learned it from the tradition of Polycarp the bishop of Smyrna: When it was necessary, John the apostle made use of a bath-house. When they were about to enter and he knew that Cerinthus was inside he jumped up again, because he did not believe it right to be with him under the same roof. He also said to those with him: "Let us flee lest the bath-house fall upon us, since Cerinthus the enemy of the truth is inside".

V 12

It is necessary to know that of the translators Symmachus belonged to the heresy of the Ebionites. It was a heresy which had poor and simple ideas about Christ, as we expounded above. They said that Christ was a mere man and that he owed his beginning of his life to Joseph and Mary. They exerted themselves to keep the Jewish law. Symmachus published commentaries on the holy Gospel according to Matthew with which he believed he could fortify and strengthen his heresy.

VI 22 (c. 1173B)

Κήρινθον δὲ τὸν καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου κληθεῖσαν Κηρινθιανὴν συστησάμενον αἵρεσιν, ἀξιόπιστον ἐπιφημίσαι θελήσαντα τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πράγματι ὄνομα· τοῦτο γὰρ εἶναι τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ τὸ δόγμα, ἐπίγειον ἔσεσθαι τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείαν· καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὠρέγετο, φιλοσώματος ὧν καὶ πάνυ σαρκικὸς, ἐν τούτοις ὀνειροπολεῖν ἔσεσθαι· γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γαστέρα πλησμονῆς, τουτέστι σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ γάμοις, καὶ δι' ὧν εὐφημότερον ταῦτα ᾤήθη ποιεῖσθαι, ἑορταῖς καὶ θυσίαις καὶ ἱερείων σφαγαῖς.

VI 22

See III 14 from: “Cerinthus who also made up ... sacrifices of animals”.

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Origen, *in ep. ad Titum*Eusebius, *hist. eccl.* III 27 3Pseudo Ignatius, *ep. ad Philad.* VINicephorus Callistus, *eccl. hist.* III 13

witnesses, seven —

Hippolytus, *Ref.* IX 15 2

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IX 15 6

Epiphanius, *Pan.* 19 1 6

19 6 4

30 17 4

Word (scil. Jesus)

Origen, *in ep. ad Titum*

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Pseudo Ignatius, *ep. ad Philad.* VI

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